# The Revolution of the Young Nations - Fascism and National Socialism

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## Forward

In this treatise on Fascism and National Socialism, I have attempted to elucidate the nature, spirit, and objectives of these two movements, drawing primarily on their guiding principles and programs as well as on their leaders' authentic interpretations of them.

These notes can only convey the brief critical impression of the moment; it is neither intended nor possible to consider all aspects of the two movements that today command the attention of Europe and the entire world—movements which, though similar in their goals, guidelines, and discipline, nevertheless differ in the character, upbringing, and traditions of the two peoples.

In the following pages, I have elaborated on the content of speeches and lectures I recently delivered in various cities across Germany and at different times, with the aim of strengthening and deepening the ties between these two revolutionary peoples.

**Rome, May 1st, 1934 = XII (Year of the Fascist Era)**
**Guido Bortolotto**

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# I. Nation and Revolution

## The Postwar Period and New Political Doctrines

Benito Mussolini wrote:

*"If the 19th century was the century of socialism, liberalism, and democracy, that does not mean that the 20th century must also be the century of socialism, liberalism, and democracy: political doctrines pass away, but peoples endure.*
*It is conceivable that our century belongs to authority, to the right, to Fascism - if the 19th century was the century of the individual (for liberalism means individualism), then the 20th century can be that of the 'collective', and consequently, that of the state."*[1]

Every political doctrine emerges and gains validity at a moment—and only at that moment—when social orders feel the inevitability of an intervention or a specific form of government, whether out of internal necessities or to ward off a danger. Every political doctrine is both the result of and the overcoming of earlier doctrines that have had their day; no political doctrine can move backward in the existence of peoples and in the history of social orders, for as soon as human activity reacts to a theory that does not fully correspond to the demands of the times, it reshapes and adapts it - thus, systems arise, live, and pass away one after another; however, each makes its contribution to doctrine and to life, and at times old principles resurface from the distant past, rejuvenated, and norms that have been overcome prove themselves once again useful, even necessary, for public life at the given moment.
While constitutional crises may signify decadence and death for a particular regime, they nevertheless signify periods of reorganization and development in the life of nations: forms change and overlap, and systems grow obsolete and decay, but humanity is constantly rejuvenating and renewing itself.
In our own day, an order that has lasted nearly a century is proving unsuited to the new era, unable to meet the new problems and demands of the peoples; everyone senses that an epoch is coming to an end and a new one is beginning, one that takes its name from the idea of Rome.
Rome proclaims to the peoples, who yearn for authority, guidelines, and order, through Mussolini's words:

*"The state is a spiritual and moral matter... what is called a crisis can only be resolved within the framework of the state... the contradictions of today's civilization can be overcome in only one way: through the teaching and wisdom of Rome."*[2]

In times of acute crisis, the welfare of the people and the renewal of states very often depend on the competence and insight of those in power; they must understand the shortcomings of the old systems and take responsibility for new ideas and orders in order to adapt the life of the people to the rhythm of the times.

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[1] Benito Mussolini, "La dottrina del Fascismo" (The Doctrine of Fascism), Rome 1932, Part II, No. 9 (German edition published by R. Kittler).
[2] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part I, No. 6.

We are witnessing such intuition and alert initiative on the part of our leaders, supported by the correct understanding of the masses, in Italy today, where there was the courage to cast aside outdated ideologies and undertake, in a revolutionary manner, a reorganization of the law and a rebuilding of society.

**The Revolution of the Young Nations**

The European revolutions of the postwar period were either, like the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the German Revolution of 1918, class revolutions, or national revolutions, such as the Fascist revolution in Italy and the National Socialist revolution in Germany.
In the class revolutions, the revolutionary movement developed from a doctrine; the national revolutions, on the other hand, arose from a profound suffering that forged a lesson through the revolution; while in the former, the doctrine became increasingly secondary and eventually faded away, the lesson born of the national revolutions has continually been reinforced by the experience of the people's vital necessities.

The old and weary peoples have made the ugly revolutions; the young, the beautiful ones - ugly are the revolutions that sweep over a people like a devastating storm and bear no fruit; beautiful are the revolutions from which arises for the peoples that new, necessary order for which they yearned. Some revolutions arise from the hatred and selfishness of parties and classes—they are crude, cruel, and destructive; others arise from the will for peace, social harmony, and national unity—they are good, noble, and constructive.
The class revolutions of the old nations could produce nothing but dictatorships and oligarchies; they saw their goal achieved in a constitution that then proved so weak that it soon fell into disrepair; the national revolutions of the young nations, on the other hand, have created authoritarian governments; they were not content with the establishment of a state constitution, but sought, beyond that, the complete spiritual transformation of an entire people - Benito Mussolini recently said that the revolution of the Blackshirts:

*"...is not over and cannot end, because it represents, and is meant to represent, a constant renewal of our spirit and our will to fight."*[3]

The revolution of the young nations is a revolution of passion and rebirth.
Revolutionary youth is neither materialistic nor selfish; it does not rebel against discipline or against the state, but embodies life in its constant renewal; it is fresh and spontaneous, good and generous, active and constructive.
Mussolini wrote:

*"Youth is beautiful because it has clear eyes with which it prepares to marvel at the vast and manifold realms of the world; it is beautiful because its fearless heart does not fear death - only youth knows how one must die."*

We must preserve and defend this beauty of youth, because the young generation in Italy and in Germany represents the living mission of their nation. We have a deep understanding that a youth that feels unconditionally connected to its nation can better comprehend the spirit and will of the young generations of other peoples, who are themselves bound to their own tradition and history.

[3] Speech to the Florentine Fascists, Rome, Oct. 23rd, 1933

These young generations understand one another because they are the ambassadors of new life, peace, and social order - the Bavarian Minister of the Interior was right to say recently in his greeting to the Italian and German youths gathered before him:

*"Let the world know that when loyal peoples fight shoulder to shoulder for the prosperity of their nation, a greater service is rendered to European culture than through any international conferences."*

**Fascism and National Socialism**

The fascist state owes its distinctive character above all to its revolution, which embodies the model of a progressive and total revolution—a revolution of endings and beginnings, of balances and systems, of the right and the left—a revolution of constructive realization that is thoroughly Italian in form and development.

From the opposing political parties came the masses who, just as they had previously waged the war, now also made the revolution; they came together at a historic moment, in the face of a difficult political situation, to fulfill an urgent task. Coming from different directions and parties, yet united by wartime discipline and revolutionary passion, they overcame both technical and political differences of opinion regarding the means of overcoming the war and reorganizing society and the state; the thought and deed of a national revolution brought them together and gave them a new common form - thus, Fascism arose and triumphed as the embodiment of the spirit, idea, energy, momentum, and doctrine of national Italy, and, after ten years of activity and rule, it appears only more powerful, energetic, and revolutionary.

Every revolution changes orders and systems, exhibiting two fundamental tendencies: one social and intellectual, and the other legal-political; the goal of the first is the transformation of the entirety of intellectual life, education, and culture; the goal of the second is the alteration of the state constitution. The first has an educational function, the second an organizational one; the first is directed toward consciousness and customs, the second toward governance; the first is internal and belongs to the logical order, creating or transforming the regime as a discipline of life; the second is external and belongs to the constitutional order, creating the state as a legal entity and sovereign power.

Sorel defined the revolution as a change of ideas; Mazzini defined it as an educational system that replaces the older one; Mussolini defined it as a sudden and total change of order and the creation of a new one - we Italians, even today after ten years, have not yet fully accomplished the transformation of ideas, education, and order, and that is why the revolution continues, not only in our country, but also in other states.

On the tenth anniversary of our revolution, we are witnessing, as the highest expression of celebration, that the significance of Fascism is also being recognized in other countries, not only theoretically but in constructive political practice: this is happening in Germany; not only does Adolf Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor certainly represent a great victory for the National Socialist program and the revolution of the Brownshirts, but it signifies a victory for fascist doctrine and the Blackshirts.

Hitler once stated that Germany and Italy face the same difficulties, and that their destinies are united in the struggle for the goods of culture; Mussolini, for his part, has also always openly acknowledged and defended Germany's rights in the postwar period.[4]

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[4] See Asvero Gravelli, "Hitler, Mussolini und die Revision" (Hitler, Mussolini, and Revision), 1933, pp. 23 and 63 (German edition published by R. Kittler).

The political direction is currently the same in both countries, and their combined efforts can bear good fruit for the peace and prosperity of Europe - for this, however, the structure of both nations must be consolidated under the rule of the authoritarian state.
As soon as one speaks of authority, some immediately think of reaction and a return to outdated times and systems; however, reaction is the power of the past, which no longer fits the present, whereas authority is the power necessitated by the current social situation.
Reaction is a product of arbitrariness and a particular force, whereas authority is a lawful phenomenon and a general force; the former stands in opposition, while the latter is necessary for the support and protection of social development.
Reaction is always destructive; it suppresses and sacrifices the freedom and initiative of the individual without cause; meanwhile, authority is always positive, active, and constructive, and it protects order, regulates and disciplines social life in order to strive to realize the goals of the state in harmony with the interests of the individual and collective associations - therefore, reaction must be avoided at all costs, while authority and sovereignty are necessary conditions for the government and order of peoples.
Accordingly, the revolution of the nation and of authority is not a reaction, for a revolution, like history itself, can never move backward[5]; therefore, it was also inaccurate to describe Fascism as a reactionary revolution.[6]
Fascism is a revolution that is both conservative and progressive: conservative because it preserves the traditional principles of the nation and unites them under the protection of state authority, and progressive because it fundamentally renews the order of social life, the organization of productive forces, and the function of the state with regard to the economy and wealth.

**War and Revolution**

In order to create a new order and an intellectual climate commensurate with this new development, the European states had to rebel against the political systems of the past—against democracy, capitalism, and parliamentarism. This took place in two necessary stages: war and revolution.
In contrast to the liberal and Marxist mentality, which was pacifist and neutralist in nature, a new consciousness emerged during the war; the revolution then changed the regime and destroyed the political and intellectual systems that had prevailed in the past and had reestablished their rule even after the war.
War and revolution have left a deep mark on the peoples; while there are nations that have experienced neither war nor revolution, they have, consequently, remained disinterested in the political life of the world, and have thus remained absent and unnoticed; the nations that have experienced war but not revolution, such as France, England, and America, find themselves unable to overcome the current crisis, so that a major change in their government and constitution can be predicted in the near future; the nations that, like Spain, have experienced only a revolution without having participated in war, seem unprepared and unfit for both a regime of authority and a regime of freedom; finally, the nations that, like Russia, Italy, and Germany, have gone through both war and revolution, prove capable of introducing new orders.

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[5] Moeller van den Bruck, "Das dritte Reich" (The Third Reich), Hamburg 1931, 3rd ed., p. 231.
[6] Robert Michels, "Zur Soziologie des Parteiwesens in der Demokratie" (On the Sociology of the Party System in Democracy), p. 4.

We are referring here only to those revolutions that have unfolded in accordance with the demands of the present and political logic, for a revolution must indeed come at the right time; otherwise, it passes the people by without bearing fruit and leaves behind, at best, wounds and prejudices.
Two recent revolutions truly came at the right time and were necessary: the Russian Revolution, which seized the right moment during the World War to establish a communist regime, and the Italian Revolution, which broke out immediately after the end of the war because that was the opportune moment for resistance against a communist regime; the democratic revolution, on the other hand, which Germany undertook immediately after the World War, was in vain because the time for democratic revolutions had passed; it could have been carried out seventy years earlier, but at best, it embodied the spirit of 1848, but by no means the spirit of 1918.[7]
The elements that carried out that revolution no longer represented the will of the people and the times; that is why the order of 1918 very soon fell under the blows of the subsequent, timely, and necessary revolutions of the Brownshirts.

The war shaped the spirit of the young generation everywhere, a generation that rose up powerfully in the revolution against the old ideas and systems.
The Fascist Revolution was the revolution of the postwar spirit against the prewar spirit; during the preceding period of political life, liberal-democratic dictatorships in Italy had, in the shadow of the parliamentary regime, created governmental oligarchies—closed castes of individuals of various party affiliations who, through this method of government, maintained their normal and periodic access to power. The youth, seeking their place in the sun—especially the educated and energetic youth—found themselves facing a door that remained permanently closed; they, who had lived through the war, had to make the revolution as well in order to put the old political castes out of action.
In a lecture on Fascism at the Berlin School of Politics, Minister Goebbels emphasized the fact—significant in itself and in its consequences—that, as fate would have it, the Europe of 1914 had been ruled by the old guard, and that even beyond the war, this continued rule by the older generation constituted the deepest and most provocative insult to the youth, who returned from the trenches with a new consciousness, creative ability, and the will to bestow the fruit of their new passion upon the nation and the people.
Anyone who does not believe in a special mission for the younger generation is mistaken, for the younger generation creates its own space and determines its own mission; since we are at a stage of world development that requires a new order, and since this new order must necessarily come to pass, it is the duty of the youth to contribute to it with their strength.
Those who believe in the existing order and in the possibility of revitalizing it with the blood of youth must also be clear that, at a certain moment in social life, it is no longer the social organism that dominates, exploits, and demands service from youth, but rather, conversely, the youth that creates space for itself and replaces the old order with a new one; this is, in truth, the renewing function of the younger generation, which must not shy away from revolutionary systems and methods when an order no longer meets the demands of contemporary life and, above all, when it no longer meets the aspirations for the future nurtured by the youth.

When a revolution breaks out at the right time, when it meets the demands of reason but is the fruit of passion rather than calculation, and when it embodies the spirit of the new generations, then it can create a

[7] See Hans Zehrer, "Rechts oder links?" (Right or Left?), "Die Tat", Oct. 1931, pp. 535, 536.

valid and living order; then it can also form realistic political and social doctrines—that is, doctrines that practically amount to:

*"...solving only those problems that arise historically of their own accord, and that find or point toward their own solutions."*[8]

**The Problems of the Postwar Period**

This is the reality of life today, born of both the war and the postwar period.

The war was the first stage of the revolution, the stage of generational division born in the heat of battle; we must approach this chapter in the history of nations free from the ecstasy of war, free from pacifist bias, and free from demagogic exaggerations, and we must preserve the memory of what we have lived through and suffered, for only then we can understand that Mussolini spoke of the educational power of war at the very moment when he was directing all his efforts toward the conclusion of that Four-Power Pact intended to preserve peace in Europe - he wrote:

*"Above all, Fascism believes neither in the possibility nor in the usefulness of eternal peace; therefore, it rejected pacifism, which entails a renunciation of struggle and a cowardly retreat from sacrifice. Only war brings human energies to their highest expression and ennobles the peoples who have the courage to face it; all other trials are merely substitutes, for they have never placed man face to face with himself in the decision between life and death."*

That is why young nations must value war as a human virtue in spirit and, at the same time, understand peace as a universal duty; that is why we make no distinction between wars, between our war and that of others, between a victorious war and a lost one - here we are dealing with war in general, the war that produces the same spiritual consequences in all countries, that brings with it the same discipline, the same dangers, and the same forces, the same fears and the same enthusiasms—in a word, that exerts a revitalizing and inspiring effect everywhere.
Beyond war and enmity lie the necessities that bind yesterday's adversaries together and lead them jointly toward a renewed existence, a meaning, and an understanding of the new times - as Mussolini writes:

*"The Italian people no longer regard the peoples against whom they have fought as their enemies, not even as the enemies of the past; they regard them as their friends and, together with them, pursue a policy of peace, justice, and cooperation."*

War and revolution were great lessons for us, because we have lived through both deeply. The memory of what we suffered during the war makes us neither discontented nor rebellious; on the contrary, our experience and our superiority have grown through these hardships and difficulties - thus, the problems that the war posed and that the revolution has begun to solve point our younger generations in the same direction, in the burning issues of political life such as authority and freedom, will, order, discipline, subordination and acceptance of power and command, and the alignment of particular interests with those of the whole and the nation.

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[8] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part I, No. 6

We, the young peoples who have gone through war and revolution, have solved all these problems—not through sophisticated theory, but through the practical example of lived experience.

**The New Worldview**

War and revolution helped to overcome our individualistic bias; the world of atomism, egoism, rationalism and particular interests—as brought about by the French Revolution—was countered by the world of the masses, collectivity, solidarity and the common good, as emerged from the Fascist and National Socialist revolutions.
These two revolutions were the starting point for true popular constitutions; the unification of moral and social forces within the parties of Fascism and National Socialism, as well as the organization of productive energies within the professional associations, have made the Italian and German states the states of the people and of the masses. Each of these two states strives to solve social problems in a spirit of solidarity, transcending all individualistic doctrines and all party and class considerations; the basis of such a solution, however, is legal equality and the definite and lasting guarantee of the various interests.

The Fascist and National Socialist states are authoritarian states; this state authority has emerged from the living necessities of development and from the spontaneous unfolding of the power of entire peoples who sought their social unity - thus, the revolution of the young peoples is a national revolution in the spiritual, that is, in the ethical and historical sense.
For us, the world is not that material world of the surface in which man is an individual existing solely for himself and separated from all other people; man is indeed an individual, but he also embodies the nation and the fatherland, a moral law that unites individuals and generations in the commonality of tradition and mission.
The life instinct, confined within the narrow circle of self-indulgence, learns through duty a higher life, one that transcends the limits of time and space—a life in which the individual, through self-denial and the sacrifice of his particular interests, indeed even through death, realizes that spiritual existence which constitutes his human worth.[9]
For this reason, the revolution of the young nations embodies a spiritual conception that has emerged from the general reaction of the century against the feeble materialistic positivism of the 19th century - anti-positivist yet positive, our doctrine seeks the active human being, committed to action with all his strength; it seeks a man who is conscious of difficulties and ready to confront them.
Our doctrine regards life as a struggle: man must conquer a life worthy of himself by first and foremost creating within himself the physical, moral, and intellectual tools for mastering it.

This positive view of life is clearly an ethical one, as it encompasses the entirety of reality, as well as human action, which masters it. No action is exempt from moral judgment; nothing in the world can dispense with the value that is due to it in its orientation toward moral goals.
The doctrine that emerged from the revolution of the young nations is, however, also a historical one - according to it, man is what he is only through his participation in a spiritual process within the circle of his family, his social group, his nation, and in the general history to which all peoples contribute; hence

[9] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part I, No. 2.

we see the great importance of tradition in memory, language, customs and social life, for outside of history, man means nothing at all.[10]

**Discipline and Hierarchy**

The revolution of the young nations is a revolution of consensus, discipline, and hierarchy.
The central question of politics and its inherent problems revolves around two fundamental principles: authority and freedom. The task at hand is to reconcile these two concepts, which for a long time were mistakenly viewed as opposites, and the stability of the hierarchical and corporatist system rests on this harmony.
The regime of freedom signifies the primacy of individual interests; on the other hand, the regime of authority, the absolute supremacy of the state, and the regime of hierarchy and corporatism, is the subordination of particular interests to the common good and the dependence of the various productive forces on a higher power and discipline - thus is achieved that unity which allows for the unfolding of all energies, yet equally guarantees, under the control of a higher authority, their common orientation toward the general interest.
In the same way, the problem of the will must be addressed - individualist doctrine has always posited the will as an isolated value, and any will whatsoever should and could act freely and had the right of the guarantee and protection of the law; however, life teaches that at certain moments that the free will of individuals can and must be silenced to make way for another freedom that is not individual, but belongs to society, to the whole, to the state.

To reflect on the state is to reflect on the problem of authority, and to define authority is to clarify the forms of obedience - but when obedience is based on consensus, the problem of freedom as such no longer exists, and in its place comes the problem of discipline.
Many believe, for example, that Fascism is the regime of coercion and oppression, of violence and despotism; people have spoken not only of fascist dictatorship, but even, quite often, of fascist tyranny. None of this corresponds to the truth - Fascism, like National Socialism, is a regime of authority, and if one must speak of a dictatorship, it must be described as a “dictatorship of the state.”
Tyranny arises where the interests of social unity are thwarted; Fascism, on the other hand, is neither tyranny nor dictatorship, for it places the common good at the forefront and places authority at the service of the common good and the necessities of social life - ultimately, it is therefore anything but a dictatorship, because its legal system and educational program are guided by the principles of national solidarity; the revolution of the young nations therefore seeks strong, unitary, national entities in order to thereby establish better international relations in Europe and throughout the world.

**The New Democracy**

Young people have sensed that competition among nations, the growing complexity of economic relations, the dangers of class struggle, and partisan strife have necessitated new ways of life, which are characterized by a different discipline of social and economic efficiency and by new systems of exercising authority. Urgent questions have faced and continue to face the new generations: how can the anarchy of production be brought under control; how can class and party struggles be moderated; how can a

[10] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part I, Nos. 3 and 4.

reconciliation of opposing interests be achieved; how can a new social and economic order of a national character be created without altering, through collectivist or communist principles, the essential characteristics of the elements involved in productive activity?
The new generations of Fascism and National Socialism are today guided by the deep conviction that all these goals can be realized only through a national regime and a corporative constitution.

Organization, hierarchy, and corporatism signify order, balance, and justice; under these conditions and with the corresponding guarantees, everyone can find a place for their activity within the organized mass - when Mussolini wrote in his Doctrine that, in Fascism, the individual is not annihilated but multiplied, he gave the young nations the formula for organized life in our own time.
Organization, hierarchy, and corporatism signify the opposite of the liberal and democratic constitutions; the weakness and state of crisis of liberal and democratic states are in fact explained by both the striving of a certain number of social groups to secure a sphere of activity independent of the state and a legal domain independent of—or even in opposition to—the general legal order of the state; the unity and authority of the state are thus called into question.
It is a fundamental error of liberal political theory that it does not, or does not sufficiently take into account, the forces that together constitute the unity and totality of the social fabric, yet it is precisely this problem that must be closely monitored - after all, the existence of groups hostile to or alien to the state is incompatible with the existence of the state.
This difficulty must be overcome, and Fascism and National Socialism have overcome it; through their new constitutions, they have drawn all social forces—those of the right, the left and the center, which previously stood alien or hostile to one another—into the sphere of the state and placed their effectiveness and responsibility in the service of the social fabric - thus arises the unity of the nation, a new, industrious people, and a democracy that is valid for the present age.

Mussolini wrote:

*"Fascism abhors in democracy the absurd conventional lie of political equality, the customary collective irresponsibility, and the myth of bliss and infinite progress.*
*If democracy can be interpreted differently—if democracy means that the people are not relegated to the very margins of the state—then Fascism could be defined as an 'organized, centralized, authoritarian democracy.'"*

This new democracy, the truest expression of the revolution of the young nations, is evident to us today in both Italy and Germany; the dogma of the French Revolution and its motto, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity", is sinking, and the new constitutions emerging from the revolution of the young nations are emerging victorious - their motto, however, is: "Authority, Order, Justice."

**The Two Revolutions and Their Development**

The fascist and National Socialist revolutions, though belonging to almost the same era in terms of their origins and goals, followed different paths and underwent different developments; this can be explained

by the personalities of their leaders, the nature of the two peoples, and the influence of external circumstances.[11]

Fascism began in 1919 and came to power in 1922, having already neutralized its opponents in the revolutionary struggles; National Socialism, which also emerged in 1919, came to power in 1933 and, having seized power, then eliminated its opponents.
The course of the revolution differed on both sides, in accordance with the character of the leaders and the masses; it is therefore understandable that in our country, the cult of the leader is more a product of love, conviction, and the lively enthusiasm of the Italians than of discipline, whereas the German people follow their Führer more out of mystical enthusiasm, complete trust, and submission - thus, in both nations, the unity of the movement and the unchanging direction are ensured by the leader, but the feelings and attitudes of the masses are expressed in different ways.

One must bear in mind that the Italian people differ from the German people in their nature, tradition, and historical development; while the Italians have always been rebels and revolutionaries who have sacrificed their passion and their blood in uprisings for centuries, the Germans, by contrast, generally pursued a more evolutionary and programmatic development - similarly, while the Fascist Revolution was a passionate effort to free the Italian people from the rule of a parliamentary political class alien to them and to completely reshape their existence, the National Socialist revolution, on the other hand, sought for a long time—and with successful results—to win a parliamentary majority.
Despite this, National Socialism is indeed a distinctly anti-parliamentary movement, which sought and found entry into parliaments only to attain power by legal means, and its overall goal remained the reorganization and reconstruction of the state.
Differences can also be identified in the nature of the structure and in the development of the system - while the Fascist Revolution allowed legal norms and the reorganization of the constitution to follow the revolutionary conquests, the National Socialist revolution always proceeded from its own programmatic formulation; it was therefore able to decide on the immutability of its postulates and its discipline in 1920 and confirm them in 1926.[12]
Hence, there is a clear difference in the character, method, and system of the Italian and German revolutions.[13] Furthermore, the situation in Germany in 1932 was quite different from that in Italy in 1922 - Italy in 1922, despite all the dangers and difficulties of the postwar period, had nevertheless achieved a victory; in comparison, Germany, even in 1932, was still a defeated country bearing all the disadvantages and burdens of the vanquished; it was also exposed to the danger of reprisals from the victors, who would have gladly prevented the progress of the revolution.[14]
And yet, despite all differences in leadership and method, the two revolutions are intrinsically linked by character, direction, and goal, and both exhibit the same tendencies—both negatively, in the sense that they fight the same enemies, and positively, in the sense that both are national movements whose essential foundation is the nation as an ethical, historical, and social unity; both are rooted in the people, because

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[11] Asvero Gravelli, "Hitler, Mussolini, and Revision", Leipzig 1933, p. 83 ff; Balbino Giuliano, "Nazionalsocialismo e Fascismo" (National Socialism and Fascism), "Politica sociale", June–July 1933, p. 309).
[12] Fanco Ciarlantini, op. cit., pp. 24, 25.
[13] On the revolution and the revolutionary spirit in Germany, see Oswald Spengler, "Preußentum und Sozialismus" (Prussianism and Socialism), in “Political Writings,” Munich 1933, p. 11 ff.
[14] Francesco Coppola, "La lotta politica in Germania" (The Political Struggle in Germany), "Politica", June–Aug. 1933, p. 310.

they integrate the people as a personal and spiritual element into the political framework of the state; both are movements of the organized masses, acting simultaneously through the collective and the individual; both organize the professions as elements of a unitary society and protect the workers, who act as productive forces for the prosperity of the individual and the power of the nation; both seek to restore the tradition, will, spirit, and prestige of the nation to honor and prominence, but above all to rehabilitate the war and its combatants; both carried out the revolution under the banner that had led the troops into battle[15], and both, as Alfred Rosenberg said, wish to affirm our time with full conviction, since we all know ourselves to be forces and elements of rebirth, and the previous war still lives on as a great mystical deed in the hearts of future generations.

We feel united in the realm of practical implementation through clear intentions and resolute action, and we are equal to one another in structure, hierarchy, discipline, content, ideal, feeling, passion, and enthusiasm.

Finally, this shared spirit is also evident in the fact that the leaders of these revolutions both invoked the aid and consent of two strong and necessary powers when, having assumed governmental responsibility ten years apart under such different circumstances, they addressed the nation for the first time - by that, I mean God and the people.

Benito Mussolini concluded his speech at the first session of the Chamber of Deputies with the words:

*"I believe in my people and am proud of this, their third admirable rebirth."*

and the following day in the Senate he concluded:

*"May God stand by me in this, my terrible struggle."*

Hitler, meanwhile, concluded his first speech to the German nation with:

*"May Almighty God take our work into His grace, shape our will justly, bless our insight, and grant us the trust of our people."*

**The Downfall of the Old Doctrines**

The two revolutions—the Fascist and the National Socialist—are directed against liberalism and any liberal compromise, against democracy and the parliamentary system, against capitalism and bureaucracy, and against class struggle, proletarianism, and Marxist doctrine.[16]

For us fascists, the March on Rome initially and clearly distinguished us from all other parties, which then helped us to wear them down - now we stand against Marxism, neo-communism, and Bolshevism because we follow nationalist slogans; against liberalism because we reject the bourgeois-capitalist premise; against democracy because we are anti-parliamentary, and above all, against any political compromise because we are intransigent.

During our revolution, the word "intransigence" was frequently used in Italy; there was much discussion of this concept, and people spoke not only of fascist dictatorship, but also of fascist tyranny - now, in our

[15] See the German laws of April 22nd, 1933 on the national flag and of April 29th on the swastika symbol.
[16] See Asvero Gravelli, "Hitler, Mussolini, and Revision", p. 86.

view, intransigence means order, hierarchy, effort, and discipline; above all, however, it means opposition to any compromise and any tolerance, for these negate, in the political sphere, all energy, every principle of authority, and every valid effectiveness.
Tolerance has always been one of the main characteristics of the liberal system and liberal doctrine:

*"Liberalism denied the state for the sake of the interests of the individual; Fascism affirms the state as the true reality of the individual.*
*For the fascist, the state encompasses everything, and nothing human or spiritual exists or counts outside the state - in this sense, Fascism is total, and the fascist state, as the synthesis and unity of all values, interprets, develops, and elevates the entire life of the people."*[17]

The tendency toward total realization places both Fascism and National Socialism before the necessity of the most rigorous intransigence - that is to say: both reject any compromise, even a secondary one, as well as any direction that, even partially, would stand outside the life of the nation or violate its tasks.
Mussolini's maxim:

*"Everything in the state, nothing against the state, nothing outside the state"*

is already the formula for the work of National Socialism in Germany: in one of his lectures at the School of Politics in Berlin, Minister Goebbels took up this principle and asserted that one either possesses full power or none at all[18]; that is why Mussolini rightly says:

*"Fascism stands in absolute opposition to liberal doctrines in both the political and economic spheres... today, liberalism is in the process of closing the gates of its abandoned temples, for the peoples feel that its agnosticism in the economy and its indifference in politics and morality would lead—and indeed, has already led—to the certain ruin of the states."*[19]

*"Fascism, like National Socialism, shatters the entire complex of democratic ideologies, both in their theoretical principles and in their practical application and implementation.*
*Fascism denies that the multitude, simply by virtue of being a multitude, can govern human society...*
*Fascism abhors in democracy the absurd conventional lie of political equality, the customary collective irresponsibility, and the myth of bliss and infinite progress.*
*If democracy can be interpreted differently—if democracy means that the people are not relegated to the very margins of the state—then Fascism could be defined as an 'organized, centralized, authoritarian democracy.'"*[20]

After the democratic doctrine, with its motto of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," had been tested for a century, it resulted in a World War between the lives of nations, class struggle in social life, party strife in political life, the decline of morals, and the destruction of spiritual values in family life; while peace,

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[17] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part I, No. 7.
[18] See further on Part III, No. 11.
[19] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part II, No. 8.
[20] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part II, No. 7.

unity, joint effort and spiritual harmony were needed for the peoples, the demo-liberal[21] order has filled the world with divisions, tensions, and hostilities - Fascism and National Socialism oppose democracy because they strive for the salvation of nations and the overcoming of the crisis through the unity of spirit, solidarity, and discipline, whereas the slogans of democracy, pacifism and international solidarity, seek to prevent the formation of national unity.[22]

The entire political ideology of the democratic state is practically nothing other than the unfolding of the principle of the self-rule and sovereignty of the people - while the sovereignty of the people may be theoretically acceptable, it rests on two errors: first, that the people are one and indivisible, even if the will they express is only the will of a majority, and second, that the will of each individual is expressed in an equal, independent form, whereas in reality the will of a small group is manifested, which the masses merely accept.
In a democratic regime, self-rule means representation, but representation is no longer self-rule; similarly, popular sovereignty means the will of the majority, but the will of the majority is by no means the general will. The law of numbers places the will of the majority above the will of the whole, with two consequences: first, there is a tendency to surrender the fate of the state to the most numerous classes—or, rather, to their leading elements—and second, the tendency to exploit the state for the benefit of the ruling classes - Fascism and National Socialism, which strive for the general interest and the total state, are anti-parliamentary in their nature and organization for those reasons.[23]

Both Fascism and National Socialism reject and combat Marxism - Fascism:

*"...rejects the doctrine of historical materialism, according to which the history of human culture can be explained solely by the struggle of interests among the various social classes and by the change in the means and tools of production.*
*Historical materialism—according to which human beings are nothing more than extras in history, appearing on the crest of the wave and sinking back down again, while the true driving forces operate in the depths—is rejected, as is the inevitable class struggle that is the natural result of this economistic view of history; above all, however, it rejects the view that class struggle is the determining agent of social transformations."*[24]

Despite its theoretical shortcomings, Marxism has had a very harmful effect in practice because it has intervened destructively everywhere—in family and customs, in the people and the state, in economy and culture[25]; the class struggle, to which the entire activity of Marxism is traceable, is nothing other than the struggle of partial interests, and is doomed to remain so forever, for the solution of a problem at a given moment merely restores the antithesis and the conflict in its wake.

**The Corporative Idea in Italy and the Estates System in Germany**

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[21] A word meaning liberal democracies; it was most often used by fascist states including Fascist Italy and Francoian Spain. - The Translator
[22] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", Munich 1932, 16th ed., p. 121.
[23] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", p. 378.
[24] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism".
[25] Adolf Hitler, "Appeal to the German People", February 1st, 1933.

Fascism does not merely combat doctrines and destroy systems, but also enacts laws and establishes institutions - otherwise, it could not claim to have a life and prestige of its own.[26]

Both fascist and National Socialist doctrine have been able to avoid the error of liberal doctrine by abolishing the antithesis between the individual and the state, the error of democracy by paralyzing party struggles, and the error of Marxism by ending class antagonism - thus, in social and economic life, Fascism and National Socialism has restored the balance of classes and place the state above them as organizer, regulator, and leader; it disciplines activity through the law and overcomes disorderly competition through the orderly and planned cooperation of the social classes and the productive forces. The original and fundamental idea of corporatism lies precisely in establishing this harmony in the realm of production; the social structures that wish to save themselves from the crisis had to adopt the corporative idea because only through the stable unity and solidarity of material and spiritual interests in Italy could economic and social order be achieved; only in this way will the democratic ideologies of popular sovereignty and the communist ideologies of the dictatorship of the proletariat finally disappear, for the unitary and total character of the national state and the corporative order rests precisely on the lasting and secure protection of the interests of individuals and professional groups through the effective application of three fundamental principles: justice, organization, and hierarchy - the corporative order in Italy and the estates-based structure in Germany are the sure realization of these principles.

The national economy signifies cooperation, a balance of interests, and the recognition of all productive forces living within the state - thus, the solution to the fundamental problems is sought in a total and people-oriented form.
The national economy has achieved the integration of the worker into the people and into the state, not in a purely organizational manner, as a socialization of the means of production as in the Marxist system, but rather in a social and moral manner, as a new way of life with a new spiritual attitude - thus, one reads in the preamble to the Reich Chamber of Culture Act of September 22nd, 1933 (RGBI. I, p. 661):

*"Establishing the corporative order means encompassing the individual; even in its entirety, it is not an institution within the state or even alongside it, but the state itself in a new form.*
*The institutions of the constitutional state that have hitherto been central (law, the judiciary, the police) do not become superfluous; however, they recede as instruments of coercion and authority behind the institutions designed to capture the will of the members of the nation."*

In contrast to liberalism and collectivism, the corporative constitution in Italy and the corporative structure in Germany present not a technical but an educational problem in terms of organization; the new economic life presupposes a new sense of community and a new society in which the individual is not destroyed, but multiplied, and in which his interests are protected and defended by his estates-based and professional bodies.
That is why the system of the national economy includes the self-governance and self-discipline of individuals, categories, and classes; every individual thinks of the whole, and voluntary subordination and restraint, the voluntarily accepted bond, and the principle that "the common good takes precedence over self-interest" ensure the unity of production and productive forces.

[26] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part I, No. 13.

The system of the national economy seeks forms that can serve as expressions of a new attitude and are more than mere organizations, because they represent the estate, the profession, and the category - in this way, individual, collective and general interests are safeguarded more intensively and effectively than under the rule of other forms of government and legal systems; in the corporative regime, indeed, this safeguarding takes place in an orderly manner through the cooperation of the state, collective associations, and individuals; this corporative formula of cooperation is of the greatest value not only for the solidarity and stability of the legal order, but also for the clarification of political and constitutional decisions.

It is objected that the fascist and National Socialist states are authoritarian states - however, the authority, or, let us say rather, the sovereignty of the state constitutes only one of its characteristics in both the Italian and German constitutions, and it is conditioned by the necessities of life and development of the entire people.
When one speaks of mass tendency or mass consciousness, one is expressing the dynamic value and the developmental character of the social community; this is not the more or less arbitrary result of a conventional agreement of the wills of several individuals, but the necessary outcome of history, in which individuals are merely active or passive, willing or reluctant instruments. The requirement of mass solidarity is a profoundly ethical principle, according to which the members strive for the common good as a necessity that sometimes takes precedence over their own well-being - thus, the organism and constitution of the state are formed neither from the will of the people as the sole bearer of sovereign powers, nor from the interaction of individual wills in a contractual agreement, but rather from the spontaneous impulse of individuals; by virtue of their instinctive aspirations and in the satisfaction of their needs, they constitute that social unity which, under the rule of law, becomes the state.
Two fundamental consequences now arise from this: first, the concept of state sovereignty is justified in a natural and spontaneous manner, and second, citizens are freed from what has been very aptly described as “intellectual nomadism”; education and legal discipline unite them in a common ideology, resulting in a unified, public demeanor.
Herein lies the popular solidarity of the fascist and corporative state, as well as that of the National Socialist state; through this functional reality, by virtue of a true and deep anchoring within the people, the state is not just a spiritual principle, but also a social community, an economic force, a national value, a political power, and a legal personality: its social ideal is the realization of justice between the classes; its economic ideal is the prosperity of the individual and the power of the nation; its national ideal is the prestige of the country and the people in international relations; its political power consists in the exercise of the highest authority to guarantee order and the enforcement of the law, and its legal validity manifests itself in the exercise of sovereign rights with due regard for the rights of individuals, but above all with due regard for the overall interests of the nation’s society.[27]

**The Fascist Doctrine**

Fascism is both an Italian revolution and a universal doctrine - Mussolini said:

[27] Bortolotto G., "Massen und Staat im korporativen System" (Masses and the State in the Corporative System), "Deutsches Volkstum", February 1933, p. 104.

*"Fascism takes a form that corresponds to the circumstances of time and place, but at the same time it possesses an ideal content that elevates it to a truth in the higher history of thought."*[28]

Even earlier, the Duce had written in a message to the Blackshirts:

*"...I assert today that Fascism, as an idea, doctrine, and reality, is universal; it is Italian in its specific institutions, but it is and must be universal in its spirit.*
*The spirit is universal by its very nature; one can therefore foresee a fascist Europe, a Europe whose institutions are inspired by the doctrine and practice of Fascism, a Europe that, in other words, solves the problem of the modern state in the spirit of Fascism—the state of the twentieth century, which differs markedly from the states before 1789 and those after 1789.*
*Today, Fascism meets universal requirements; it solves the threefold problem of the relationships between the state and the individual, the state and groups, and groups and groups."*[29]

All of this grows out of our historical and cultural foundations - our history and our culture are Rome and Romanity, the Italian Renaissance and Italian Humanism, the Risorgimento and national independence; these facts clarify both the Italian character of Fascism and the universality of its doctrine.
Rome and Romanity are the culmination of our tradition and our destiny; our movement can always orient itself toward it, both in terms of external forms and in terms of the innermost meaning of life and the organic character of order.
The Duce has set the slogan of the fascist revolution against the French slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," which reads: "Authority, Order, Justice"; in this slogan of ours, we encounter once again the Roman jus, the Roman ordo, and the Roman auctoritas[30], which have come down to us from the Latin world, and which we seek to uphold with the same reverence and the same measured wisdom.
Our Renaissance has bequeathed to us the legacy of a clear and genuine Italian humanism, which we wish to describe as the enduring pursuit of life in its harmonious and proper form; indeed, our desires and efforts have always been and remain directed toward the elevation of spiritual and social existence, and for the sake of these goals, we have always fought battles and dared revolutions: for ordo against disorder, for justitia against injustice, and for auctoritas against reaction, presumption, and tyranny.
Our Italian Risorgimento cannot be separated from Rome, Romanity, and the Renaissance, for it complements the essence of Fascism and lives on in tangible proximity to it - the Fascist Revolution continues the Italian Revolution of the previous century, not only as the realization of national demands, but also in the preservation and defense of ideal principles. The Italian essence of the Risorgimento has been preserved in its entirety by Fascism, indeed further deepened; the same vibrant striving for freedom and independence has given both revolutions light, warmth and passion, and has preserved the characteristic traits of our spirit and our nature; a philosophical tradition that knew how to unite human freedom with the religious spirit of Catholicism has shaped that development which was able to reunite the scattered elements into a happy synthesis and social solidarity.

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[28] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part I, No. 1.
[29] Mussolini's Message for the Ninth Year (of the Fascist Era) 1930, see in "Discorsi del 1930." Milan 1931, p. 211. — See also: Asvero Gravelli, "Hitler, Mussolini, and Revision", p. 31.
[30] Latin for law, order and authority. - The Translator

But another important characteristic line of development of the Fascist Revolution must be mentioned, and from 1915 to the present, it has unfolded through the necessary stages of a passionate journey: intervention, war, uprising, revolution, the March on Rome, and the revolutionary exercise of power. Above all, the war has brought about unity, equality and solidarity among the classes and professional groups in our country; in the postwar period, Fascism then created a true societas populi[31] for the entire nation.
The masses who had participated in the war were led into the revolution without any material or spiritual interruption of continuity—a revolution that first, as a revolution of the front-line fighters, brought about national unity, and then, as a revolution of the producers, brought about corporative unity.

*"At that moment, Benito Mussolini, through Fascism, had revived the revolutionary national tradition of the Risorgimento and the war; he hammered into the innermost consciousness of the Italian people the tragic meaning of life and the nation that we had been lacking; he restored the new Italy's respect for the sovereignty of the king and once again brought revolution and restoration together; he gave Italians their dream and a sense of responsibility toward their history, and finally, he steered Italy's recent history onto the path of a new, ideal order that was vital to humanity."*[32]

Thus, in our history and intellectual development, past, present, and future converge; historical traditions, current necessities, and new objectives find and complement one another on the simultaneously ideal and real ground of Fascism. Our spirit and our doctrine are both traditional and modern; they preserve all that must be preserved in the name of life and the historical continuity of the people; they renew, because they keep pace with the demands of the present and achieve conquests of the Italian will and Latin character in the political, social, and economic spheres.

The concept and system of Fascism can be summarized in three guiding principles and three structural elements - the guiding principles are:

a) the overcoming of individualism through respect for collective forms in their stable and regular social configuration;
b) the unitarian tendency on a national basis as the foundation of solidarity among the productive forces;
c) the affirmation of authority and its exercise through the full development of political effectiveness.

These guiding principles correspond to the following three structural elements:

a) the unity of the national fabric;
b) the corporative order as the cooperation of the national productive forces;
c) the sovereignty of the total national state.

The universality and Italian value of fascist doctrine lies precisely in the interaction and necessary synthesis of its three constituent elements: the nation, the corporation, and authority. Herein lies the

[31] Latin for "society of the people". - The Translator
[32] Balbino Giuliano, "National Socialism and Fascism", "Politica sociale", June–July 1933, p. 312.

novelty of the fascist conception - while there may have been individual inspirations and precursors prior to Fascism[33], no scholar and no doctrine developed its total and perfect concept; there may have been nationalism, various forms of syndicalism, and systems based on authority, but until now, no doctrine has led to the necessary and indissoluble interaction of these three elements, which constitute the modern, current, and Italian essence of Fascism.
Mussolini said:

*"A party that totally governs a nation is a new historical fact - comparisons and parallels are impossible. Fascism draws from the ruins of liberal, socialist, and democratic doctrines the elements that still have value; it retains those that might be called historical achievements and discards the rest—that is, the notion of a doctrine that could suit all times and all peoples."*[34]

In National Socialism, too, we find the three fundamental elements of the new national unitary state and a party that governs: the idea of the nation and the cult of race are deeply rooted in the German people; the idea of the corporation has found its practical realization in the Labor Front and the corporative system, and the solidarity of the productive forces is secured by the Law on the Organization of National Labor of January 20th, 1934.
The idea of authority stems from the historical development and the constitution of the German state - these essential conditions ensure the unity and continuity of national life, the cooperation of all forces toward unified production, and the ethical and political development of the national state.

[33] See Edgar L. R. Rosen, "Der Faschismus und seine Staatsidee", (Fascism and Its Concept of the State), Berlin 1933, p. 30 ff.
[34] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part II, No. 9.

## II. The National State

### National, Spiritual and Historical Unity

The first sentence of the "Carta del Lavoro"[35] states:

*"The Italian nation is an organism with goals, life, and means of action that are superior in strength and duration to those of the individuals belonging to it, whether they are individuals or groups; it is a moral, political, and economic unity that is integrated into the Fascist state."*

The state is therefore the political and legal reality of the nation; in our time, no state can have existence and permanence unless it is founded on a national basis and pursues national goals. While the form and power of the state are important, its content—that is, the nation, the people—is even more so, and its interests must take precedence over all other interests in social life.[36]
This national interest can be of various kinds, and even more than material, economic, or political interests, the state must also represent historical and spiritual interests - therefore, the essential task of the government of a national state is to preserve the spiritual unity of the people by protecting the foundations and strength of the nation, replacing restless, arbitrary instincts with national discipline, thus creating, out of the mass of citizens, an orderly, unified organism oriented toward the goals of the common good.[37]
Proletarian communism holds the principle that the masses constantly seek to oppose the state and authority, and are therefore anti-national and dangerous. The opposite is true: out of a natural need for protection, the masses tend toward authority and the state; they are not anti-national, for they possess two instinctive sentiments: a sense of national solidarity and a sense of social justice.

Here in Italy, the sense of national solidarity was originally found among the parties of the right, while the sense of social justice was found among the parties of the left; however, it was not long before the parties of the right realized that national solidarity could not exist without social justice, and the parties of the left realized that social justice could not exist without national solidarity - Fascism, which is simultaneously a movement of the right and of the left, unites the two tendencies of the masses within the corporative order and organizes the social forces into a national unity.
National Socialism proclaims the same goals through the words of its Führer:

*"Then, one day, a people of citizens will arise, united among themselves and forged together by a common love and a common pride, unshakable and invincible forever."*[38]

No sacrifice may be too great to achieve and maintain this national unity - it is not the methods of democracy—above all, not its famous objectivity—that can win over the masses, but only the feeling, the warmth, and the passion that springs from a deep national self-awareness.

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[35] The "Carta del Lavoro" (Charter of Labor) is a fundamental document passed by the Italian Fascist government on April 21st, 1927; it lays out the government's economic policy, the doctrine of corporatism, social principles, and the ethics of fascist trade unionism. - The Translator
[36] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", p. 645.
[37] Adolf Hitler, "Appeal to the German People", February 1st, 1933.
[38] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", pp. 474, 475.

But what, then, is a nation? No question has been more widely and diversely discussed than this one - while relevant literature offers a wealth of perspectives and opinions, it becomes evident that the familiar elements—such as territory, language, tradition, religion, history, national spirit, and national character—are no longer sufficient to understand and justify the principle of nationality; the new intellectual currents and the political and national formations of the postwar era have drawn the attention of academia, and various opinions and tendencies have emerged, because each state found the justification for its existence in a particular doctrine.
We have an Italian doctrine of nationality, or, more precisely, the doctrine of nationality is purely Italian. According to this doctrine, the spiritual unity of the nation manifests itself as:

*"...a natural community of people who, through the unity of territory, origin, constitution, and language, are formed into a shared life and consciousness."*[39]

The nation is not merely an ideal concept, for it also exhibits elements of material reality; nor, however, is it merely the result of external conditions, for spiritual forces are an essential part of it; finally, it is not merely a phenomenon of nature, for history and culture bring about a fundamental transformation of natural conditions and structures.
The nation encompasses the heritage of its entire historical and spiritual life, which is rooted in the past but extends into the future - the first fascist program, drafted in 1921, was based on the following postulates: the nation is neither simply the sum of living individuals nor an instrument for party purposes, but rather, it is an organism encompassing an infinite series of generations, in which individuals represent only transient elements; it is the highest synthesis of all the material and immaterial values of the race... The autonomous values of the individual or of several individuals organized into collective entities are promoted and protected, but always only within the framework of the nation, to which they must be subordinate.

Italy's current legal order, which serves the ideal of the nation, rests on these principles; the National Socialists, on the other hand, have based their idea of the nation on that formula known as the "myth of blood": they say that a new history begins where one new type of human being has triumphed over another[40], while we say that a new history begins when a new culture has entered the life of a people; they say that one must experience a myth and create a type in order to build a state and a way of life out of this type[41], while we say that a tradition, a doctrine, and a culture must be created upon which the state and existence can be built.

**The National Ideal and the Myth of the Blood**

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[39] P. S. Mancini, "La nazionalità come fondamento del diritto delle genti" (Nationality As the Foundation of International Law), Turin 1851, p. 20.
[40] Alfred Rosenberg, "Der Mythus…" (The Myth of the 20th Century), cited on p. 683; on the myth of the blood, see: Helmut Nicolai, "Grundlagen der kommenden Verfassung" (Foundation of the Future Constitution), Berlin, 1933, pp. 18, 19, 20. Also: Günther Gründel, "Die Sendung der jungen Generation" (The Mission of the Young Generation), Munich 1932, p. 271 ff.
[41] Alfred Rosenberg, "The Myth of the 20th Century", p. 477.

The myth of the blood is the foundation of the racial struggle in Germany, and it also explains antisemitism, which, for the National Socialists, is not merely a religious issue, but also—and above all—a political, cultural, and economic one.
Antisemitism permeates the entire program of the National Socialist Party, a fact that strikes us as remarkable and alien because we do not have a religious or racial issue of this kind. Hitler did indeed write that the struggle waged by Fascist Italy against the three main weapons of Semitism—Freemasonry, the international press, and Marxism—is proof of the poisonous and corrosive influence of the Semitic race[42]; in truth, however, Fascism fought these opponents because it regarded them as harmful to the development of national, political, and economic life.
While admittedly they could serve as strong starting points for a Semitic movement, in reality there is no Jewish question in Italy, neither as a racial nor religious nor financial one - in Italy, out of over forty-two million inhabitants, only 165,000 are not Catholic (and of whom about 40,000 are Jews); the remaining 41,835,000 (that is, 996 out of every thousand) are Catholics - under these circumstances, a Jewish question cannot, of course, arise.

Hitler has stated that religious issues are none of the political party's concern unless they affect the nature and heritage of the race[43]; accordingly, Article 24 of the National Socialist Program calls for freedom of all religious creeds, provided they do not violate the sense of decency and morality of the Germanic race; the Party as such advocates a positive form of Christianity without binding itself to any specific denomination, but it opposes the Jewish-materialist spirit.
Two-thirds of Germany's population is Protestant and one-third Catholic[44] - on this, Hitler has said:

*"We do not oppose the Catholic Church because we are a political movement, not a religious one; if Catholicism identifies with the Center in the political sphere, that is not our fault."*

In Italy, Fascism initially fought against all political and cultural elements that stood in the way of preserving and strengthening the religious spirit of Catholicism; then, in the Lateran Treaty, it created the document of Italy's moral and religious unity.
The head of government highlighted the essential points that led to this outcome with admirable clarity:

*"Fascism is a religious conception; it views man in his relationship to a higher law and to an objective will that elevates the individual beyond his own measure and makes him a conscious member of a spiritual community."*[45]

In contrast to National Socialism, the Duce emphasized:

*"The Fascist state does not remain indifferent to religious realities in general and to the particular positive religion of Italian Catholicism - the state has no theology, but it does have a morality.*

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[42] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", p. 127.
[43] See Footnote 41
[44] See in this regard: Albert Mirgeler, "Katholizismus und deutsche Politik" (Catholicism and German Politics) in "Was wir vom Nationalsozialismus erwarten" (What We Expect from National Socialism), ed. by A. E. Günther, Heilbronn 1932, p. 22 ff.).
[45] Benito Mussolini, The Doctrine of Fascism, Part I, No. 5.

*In the Fascist state, religion is regarded as one of the deepest expressions of the spirit; it is therefore not only respected, but also defended and protected. The Fascist state does not create its own 'God,' as Robespierre once sought to do in the frenzy of the Convention, nor does it, like Bolshevism, make the futile attempt to eradicate God from people's souls - Fascism respects the God of the ascetics, the saints, and the heroes, as well as the God who lives in the naive and simple hearts of the people."*[46]

Nevertheless, one cannot say that Fascism constituted Italy as a confessional state.
Relations between the state and the Church are regulated by the Lateran Treaty of February 11th, 1929 in such a way that, in the Fascist state, civil authority asserts its priority and supremacy over ecclesiastical authority in every activity of a political nature. We call the Fascist state an ethical-religious state because it is fundamentally an ethical state and remains so even under the new relations with the Holy See; however, unlike a confessional religious state, the Fascist state's ethical principle determines its religiosity, and not religion its ethical character.
The Catholic religion has been established as the sole state religion, but religion is not a characteristic or element of the state, but merely a condition for its peaceful development; religion has been granted a particularly favorable position, but the state measures its obligations toward the Church according to the treaties entered into, and not on the basis of divine law and canonical norms.
The Church recognizes the sovereignty of the state, and the state acknowledges the Church as an institution of high supranational, universal, and historical significance. From all the agreements, what first emerges is the clear recognition of the state's sovereignty in its ethical-legal function, by virtue of which it alone can recognize existing institutions and orders within its territory; this is followed by the declaration of the state's catholicity, whereby the state, in accordance with the tasks assigned to it by religion, affirms and assumes its duties toward the Church.
Thus, the fascist state is first and foremost an ethical state with the attributes of its sovereignty, and only then a religious state with the sum of its spiritual tasks; the state also recognizes the legal validity of specific acts performed by the servants of the Church by virtue of their spiritual validity, and the state also organizes the education and spiritual formation of the masses through the cult and the promotion of religious faith and aspiration.
Even if, in general, religion is compatible with all the ethical goals of the state, the state nevertheless controls religion from the standpoint of duty and human and social solidarity in view of its own goals - in this respect, it dominates religion and can also oppose it.[47]

**Education, Culture, and Tradition**

Concern for the spiritual foundation of the nation is closely linked to measures pertaining to education and culture - as Mussolini says:

*"Fascism would be incomprehensible in many of its practical manifestations—as a party organization, as an educational system, as a form of discipline—if it were not viewed in the light of its general philosophy of life, which is a spiritualist one - for Fascism, the world is not this material world of the surface, in which man is an individual detached from all others, dependent only on himself, who is instinctively led by a natural law to a life of selfish, momentary pleasure; this spiritualist conception, too, arose in the*

[46] Benito Mussolini, The Doctrine of Fascism, Part II, No. 12.
[47] Giovanni Gentile, "Fuori dell'equivoco" (No Misunderstanding), "Corriere della Sera", September 4th, 1929.

*wake of the general reaction of our century against the weak materialist positivism of the nineteenth century.*
*Anti-positivist, yet positive - we are not sectarian, agnostic, pessimistic or passively optimistic, like most doctrines that place the source of sustenance outside of man, for one who can should create his own world through his free will."*[48]

National Socialism approaches this spiritualist conception - Hitler says:

*"Whoever wishes to win over the masses must know the key that opens the gate to their hearts: it is not called objectivity—that is, weakness—but will and strength."*[49]

Thus, the state is a prerequisite and contributing factor in raising the cultural standard.
Like National Socialism, Fascism:

*"...is not merely a legislator and founder of institutions, but an educator and promoter of intellectual life; it does not seek to change the forms of human life, but rather its content, the people, their character, and their faith - to this end, it seeks an authority and a discipline that penetrates the innermost recesses of the mind and reigns there unchallenged."*[50]

To achieve these goals, a reorganization of the school system and the younger generation is required, as well as a careful selection of those to whom education in the spirit of the revolution can be entrusted; this new school, born of the revolution, shapes the youth and instills in them the conviction that the life of the nation must take precedence over their own selfish interests.
The change in educational formulas and methods corresponds to the change in doctrines and political order - while the aristocratic caste principle saw education as the appropriate means for raising the privileged, the democratic system replaced the idea of privilege with the more just idea of ability, affirming the principle: "Make way for the capable." But even this system remained trapped in individualism, which focused entirely on the interests of the individual and almost completely disregarded the social interest.
The fascist educational ideal takes both into account: the individual exists only within organized society, to which he contributes with his reason and intelligence, and the individual must devote his thoughts and passion to the life of the world if he does not wish to lose himself. This is precisely the advantage of our doctrine: that it aims at the collective without thereby negating the personality, the will, and the interests of individuals.[51]
Thus is the problem of the dualism between the individual and organized society resolved - the individual is not merely a tool of the social fabric and the apparatus of production, for man is always an end in himself and can never be reduced to a means; yet, on the other hand, personality is valued only within the community, which in turn cannot exist without the competition of individual values; the entire system of fascist education serves these ideas.

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[48] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part I, Nos. 2 and 3.
[49] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", p. 371.
[50] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part I, No. 3.
[51] Guido Bortolotto, "Universität und junge Generation in Italien" (University and the Young Generation in Italy), "Hochschule und Ausland", July 1933.

Whenever the question arises as to whether the educational problem should be solved in an aristocratic or democratic form—that is, whether the higher education of the ruling class or the highest educational level of the masses should be sought—the answer is that a corporative solution must be found that takes into account both the masses and the leaders.
The problem of youth has been raised - however, the problem of youth, as the Duce states:

*"...arises of its own accord; for life, too, has its seasons, just as nature does."*[52]

The trouble is that those responsible for past mistakes tackle the problems of the future with yesterday's mindset, whereas new times demand new people, and minds must be renewed if existence is to fulfill its future destiny.
The crisis we face today is a crisis of trust, of consciousness, of thought, of doctrine, of education, of method - every social problem is an ethical problem. Education, like culture itself, must always be rooted in the depths of a spiritual world that, through tradition and history, outlines the character of both current and future education in a manner befitting the national character.
Spiritual discipline is realized primarily through organization, and in the Fascist corporative system, the following institutions and associations organize the elements of education: the Opera Nazionale Balilla, the Youth Fasci, which compromises university groups that encompass the younger generation, and the Fascist School Community, which organizes the teachers, lecturers, and professors. These organizations, with their various cultural and social institutions, aim to align the atmosphere of education with the social atmosphere, bringing the school closer to life; they seek to connect professors among themselves, professors with students, and academics with other social classes - in the Fascist corporative regime, the organizations of students and professors serve as the link between the academic sphere and the spheres of the intelligentsia, the economy, finance, industry, and politics.

The tasks the state sets for itself are thus conceived through the active and fruitful cooperation of the whole - above all, however, these associations and organizations secure the national space within which the entire life of the school is to unfold; they ensure that no elements or trends contrary to the plans and goals of the national state creep in under the guise of science.[53]

**The National School**

The National Socialist regime has also launched a vigorous campaign designed to bring the spirit and purpose of the revolution to bear in the school system; this campaign has been carried out with great rigor to purge secondary schools of teachers who are politically suspect or, in any case, distant from or hostile toward the national movement, and in doing so, a very broad concept of the political is applied, encompassing the teacher's entire intellectual, didactic, and moral influence.
The German government is acting here in accordance with a principle that has borne good fruit in Fascism: it wishes to entrust the education of the youth only to thoroughly reliable teachers. In Germany as well, many scholars and technicians believed their task was limited to scientific research and paid no heed to the great drama unfolding outside the school, which was bound to have a profound influence on the school; many were also hostile to the ideas that were gaining the upper hand.

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[52] Benito Mussolini, "Speech in Rome on the 10th Anniversary", October 18th, 1932.
[53] Guido Bortolotto, "Universities and the Young Generation in Italy", "Hochschule und Ausland", Berlin 1933, July.

The aim is to place the school in the proper relationship to political life; it is unnecessary to lament the decline in the prestige of science or academic freedom, for science and teaching have absolutely nothing to fear from the work of strong governments or from the integrity of political thought.
The synthesis of scientific thought and national function is no utopia - in Italy it has already been achieved, and in Germany it is on the path to its rebirth.

Many university professors were dismissed, others withdrew voluntarily, and the same occurred among teachers in secondary and elementary schools - so much for the individuals. In terms of content, the action committees established by the Ministry of Culture to purge libraries and bookstores are also significant in Germany, with a blacklist having been drawn up listing all works that are to be removed from circulation - in consequence, many copies have been burned in public places. Furthermore, a list of particularly recommended works has been compiled for libraries, in which patriotic writings are given a prominent place.
The national government in Germany aims to promote intellectual development by supporting those who possess a special aptitude and inclination for study but lack the financial means[54] - Point 20 of the National Socialist Party's program states:

*"In order to enable every capable and hard-working German to attain higher education, and thus enter into leading positions, the state must ensure the thorough expansion of our entire system of public education. The curricula of all educational institutions must be adapted to the requirements of practical life; the concept of the state must be instilled from the very beginning of schooling (civics). We demand that children of poor parents who are particularly gifted intellectually be educated at the expense of the state, regardless of their parents' social status or occupation."*

The entirety of education legislation has reflected this emphasis on the intellectual sovereignty of the state.
The student organizations at universities established under the Law of April 22nd, 1933, comprise all students of German descent and language who are duly enrolled in the academic faculties - the student organization is an integral part of the university and represents the student body as a whole, and it shall ensure and work toward the fulfillment of students' duties toward the nation, the state, and the university.
The School Act of April 22nd, 1933, along with the implementing regulations of the same date (see: RGB. I, pp. 225, 226) combat academic inflation, i.e., they aim to limit the number of students at universities and high schools based on a projection of the needs of the state administration and the various intellectual professions.
Some provisions of this law may be difficult from the individual's perspective, but from the standpoint of general necessities, they appear unavoidable; for every individual profession, it will be better to have a smaller number of better-trained candidates available through restrictions on admission to schools than a large number of mediocre individuals; as for the individuals themselves, it will be better to be excluded from school at the outset than to be excluded from the profession after completing their studies due to a lack of positions.
The restriction on non-Aryan students is justified by the fact that in Germany, the higher professions and offices had a much higher percentage of Jews than the general population; accordingly, the percentage of

[54] See: Siegmund Neumann, "Die deutschen Parteien" (The German Political Parties), Berlin 1932, p. 81.

Jews earning their livelihood through manual labor was lower[55] - this circumstance was brought about by the relatively high proportion of non-Aryan students in schools, which is now being reduced to a fair percentage under the new law.

**Political Unity and the Total State**

The intellectual and moral unity of the nation paves the way for the political unity of the state.

The Italian nation is united as a political entity within the Fascist state, and in the order that emerged from the Fascist revolution, the nation and the state have been brought into identity.
Political science aspires to a state in which all people spontaneously follow their national inclinations; in this way, the state is no longer merely a creation of doctrine or political practice, for politics itself is subject to an active force that bears the very name of "national sentiment". In place of the rule of force and the naked will of the government, there must (this is the specific Italian doctrine) come the awareness of the inviolability of the organic and necessary forms of human coexistence; only in this way does doctrinal seduction give way to a firm, sensible order grounded in the consciousness and sentiment of the entire population, in which all agree to preserve national unity and to exercise the rights derived from this unity.
The state must be defined as "the legal order of the national fabric" - by ordering the social relations of the nation, it forms a new bond for the national fabric, which was already united by ethical, cultural, historical, and traditional ties - thus the national, sovereign, total state is realized.
Hitler says that the Germans owe a debt of gratitude to Italy because it was the first to establish a principle that all nations must follow in their own interest: the fascist principle of the national state, alongside which only Bolshevik chaos remains as an alternative.

The national state must be both a sovereign and an authoritarian state, for the foundation of the doctrine of the ethical state lies the principle of the subordination of individual interests to the higher demands of the common good; from this arises the concept of the authoritarian state, according to which true sovereignty is that from which all individuals derive their personality and to which all are bound by discipline.[56]
The liberal doctrine is then truly turned on its head - the state no longer exists to serve the individual, but rather, the individual obeys a state authority that encompasses all minds and all interests.[57]
To fulfill its tasks, the state develops three essential forces: power, organization, and law - authority is the expression of power; order and unity are realized only through organization, but justice requires the idea of law.
As power, the state is sovereign, as the fulfillment of its mission requires; it has been said that power is the origin of the state, just as faith is the origin of the church and love the origin of the family. For the individualists, however, state power exists only insofar as it is an emanation and result of the will of the people, who affirm state power by electing their own representatives; conversely, universalists attribute

[55] See: Joachim Haupt, "Neuordnung im Schulwesen und Hochschulwesen" (Reorganization of the School and Higher Education Systems), Berlin 1933, pp. 14, 15.
[56] Guido Bortolotto, "Lo Stato e la dottrina Corporativa" (The State and Corporate Doctrine), Bologna 1931, Vol. 1, p. 19.
[57] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", p. 426.

power absolutely and unyieldingly to the state or the ruler, who, by its mere exercise, compels subjects to obedience without requiring anything of them other than to obey.
According to the corporative doctrine, which stands equidistant from both extremes, power does indeed originally belong to the state, which possesses priority, necessity, and authority, but power is complemented by a corresponding element, namely consensus - together with authority, this constitutes the state as an ethical state through the people's belonging and participation.

Herein lies the essence of the fascist state - through consensus, the state secures its power, which necessarily must be only a means and not an end; moral, political, and economic power are the three aspects of this unified structure of the nation and the function of the state, with moral power signifying solidarity, economic power signifying strength, and political power signifying authority.

**State, Subjects, and the Corporative Order**

Our doctrine conceives of the state as a reality, as an organic entity, and as an institution; it examines it from the three perspectives of constitution, function, and efficacy - the constitution of the state is its unity, its function is its sovereignty, and its efficacy is the law. Our doctrine encompasses and surpasses the doctrines established thus far to explain and recognize the total reality of the state.

A constitution means unity, for the state cannot be identified with any of its isolated elements: territory, people, or sovereign power. Some doctrines have equated it with territory, as if it were a purely patrimonial state; others with the people, as if it had no governing and organizing power, and still others with sovereign power, as if it were an absolute state - the Fascist state unites and respects all elements, thereby forming the total, sovereign people's state.
The function of the state is called sovereignty: the state is superior to its population and independent of it; its will is immortal, and the decisions of one generation bind the present and the future until a contrary act of will removes their binding force - this signifies that neither absolutism nor theocracy, for the absolutism of the extreme doctrine is complemented by the legal justification of the state.
The state exercises its authority in the form of a legal entity, as in, the state acts as a legal subject; it is not merely a de-facto form of existence or way of life, but a dynamic reality subject to the rule of law. Our constitution has built the state upon social aggregates; it has created a truly organic and legal theory of the state, which equally recognizes the sovereign subject (the state), the individual subject (the individual), and the collective subjects (social associations) as legal entities.
Herein lies the difference, indeed the contrast, between the national and corporative legal order and the democratic-individualistic constitution: a difference in content, because the individualistic regime recognizes only two legal subjects, the state and the individual, whereas our constitution is based on three legal subjects: the individual, the collective, and the state; a difference in form, because the individualistic constitution rests on a subjective, ideological foundation, whereas the fascist one rests on an objective, realistic foundation: the former on the will and decision of the subjects, the latter on the elements of life and conditions that determine the structure of social aggregates; finally, a difference in structure, because in a democratic regime, particular legal orders can exist within the general legal order, sometimes even in opposition to it, whereas in a corporative regime, every particular legal order must adapt to and conform with the general one - the modern Italian state is thus a unitary, legal nation-state constituted as a constitutional monarchy with a hierarchical and corporative structure.

The hierarchical and corporative constitution directs every activity toward social and political goals; it represents interests through a continuous interaction of the three elements of the legal organism, which are: the state with its organs, which represents sovereignty, unity, and the continuity of political direction; the social associations or legal entities under public law, which represent the activities, tasks, and needs of society united with the State, and the individuals, who represent the totality of citizens participating in the collective and public life.
The corporative principle thus becomes a constitutional principle, since the unitary structure of the nation—in intellectual, economic, and political terms—is a prerequisite for the proper and orderly functioning of the state; syndical and corporative laws are therefore rightly regarded as constitutional laws, because the institutions based on them form an integral part of the state organism and because the central organs of the constitution are formed from the members of the corporative associations.
Thus, the corporative state is in fact a political unity, specifically: a constitutional system based on certain dogmas and political-moral objectives, and the relationship—or rather, the intimate interpenetration—of dogmatic principles, political objectives, and constitutional institutions determines the character and features of the unitary state.
Incidentally, this unity of the fascist state is built upon a foundation common to morality and law, that is, upon a system of proportion and balance that may limit some good things, but in any case preserves and protects greater and more important goods. All legally protected interests represent, even from an objective standpoint, a relative value; when something important or the national welfare is at stake, they must yield to the higher interest - thus, the state protects these goods precisely by subordinating particular interests to higher and more urgent ones, which, as such, encompass and guarantee those particular interests.

The ethical principle upon which this general, archic-corporative state and legal order is founded on is the idea of citizenship as the status of the individual as well as of private and public associations, all of which, in the exercise of their rights and the fulfillment of their duties, are bound to the sovereign higher association.
Citizenship must be understood as the totality of individual and social conditions pertaining to shared existence; thus, the principle of citizenship rests on an ethical foundation (consciousness and feeling), a social foundation (interest and need), and a legal foundation (protection and guarantee). Upon these foundations grow all relationships between the state, associations, and individuals, as well as all systems of social and legal relations through which the state’s concept of power becomes a moral and legal concept.
In addition to the authority of the supreme power, the state can thereby also invoke the consent of its subjects - therefore, the roots of the spiritual unity of the state (which can only be understood as the highest principle of social and national solidarity) lies in the natural development of the elements that have, over time, given rise to national consciousness and sentiment; this ethical consciousness becomes a legal and political one by virtue of the state constitution.
The fascist doctrine of the moral basis of citizenship conveys the ideas of the moral, legal, and religious state; however, it does not understand citizenship as the subjugation or organic absorption of individuals, for if the state sees its ethical goal in the fusion of the solidarity of all values, it must also acknowledge individual and collective values in their real essence and incorporate them within itself.

Spirit, family and humanity have been cited as the fundamental principles of state protection - if one adds the nation to this, the ethical principle of the state outlined above takes on a special aspect and deeper meaning, as a noble ideal deeply anchored in consciousness and feeling; in the citizens, this is awakened through a continuous educational influence that comes simultaneously from the family, the spirit, morality, religion, and the nation.
Like the fascist state, the National Socialist state, founded on the same concepts and postulates, must also be constituted in a total form - Minister Goebbels has explained that in a state intended to represent the constituted people, there must be only one idea, one party, and one leader; the thesis of the totality of the state does not, of course, mean that the system governing the nation must be capable of solving all problems, but the regime must create the space and atmosphere that make it possible to approach every problem in the spirit of solidarity and to create a total solution.

**The State's Connection to the People**

Although authoritarian and hierarchical, the fascist corporative state is neither an autocracy, nor an aristocracy, nor a dictatorship - on the contrary, one could argue that it is more closely connected to the people than any other form of government.
A French newspaper recently addressed the question of why, after ten years in power, Fascism has been able to maintain its hold with ever-greater strength and vigor: it said that the secret lay in its ability to make itself increasingly popular, and additionally, it reaches out to the people because its very nature and dynamic origins cause it to abhor static positions.
Reforms are necessary expressions of life for it, and this explains the reform zeal of the new Italy - far from being a bourgeois party, Fascism is above all a workers' party, and its carefully selected recruits are almost all young farmers and workers: in the fascist regime, solidarity is the rule, and the bourgeois party member owes support to his proletarian comrade - the social commitment of Fascism is becoming ever more pronounced.[58]

The method and structure described demonstrate that this popularity is not to be equated with democracy in the parliamentary sense, nor with demagoguery in the Marxist sense; rather, it signifies total welfare, equal distribution of protection, the abolition of preferential treatment and privileges, the equality of legal status, the parity of treatment, and the resolution of a people's livelihood problems in the spirit of balance and justice, along with the overcoming of individual or particular advantages in favor of collective and general goals.[59]
The purported connection to the people in other constitutions and doctrines remains purely theoretical and abstract, namely a mere assertion of popular sovereignty or class dictatorship; the connection to the people in the fascist state, on the other hand, is based on the balanced and enduring legal protection of individuals and collectives - in this sense, that is, for the sake of this popular aspect, one can certainly say that the fascist state is a mass regime, and that it thrives on the organized cooperation of the entire people.

[58] "La Petite République" newspaper from late January 1930.
[59] See Guido Bortolotto, "Massen und Staat im korporativen System. Der faschistische Staat als Volksstaat" (Masses and State in the Corporative System: The Fascist State as a People's State) in "Deutsches Volkstum", February 1st, 1933.

The problem of the masses and the state is treated quite differently here than in other political doctrines - for democracy, the masses are an aggregate of individual persons and a sum of individual interests that the state is supposed to guarantee; Marxism, though also proceeding from essentially individualistic premises, subsumes the individual interest into the particularistic interest of the class, which it sets in opposition to the state.
Fascism, which recognizes individual and collective interests only to the extent that they are subordinate to the general interests of the nation, transforms the individual within the masses into an element that is useful and productive for all - thus, individuals and the entire people are brought together and governed by the fascist state within a well-ordered hierarchy; herein lies the difference both from democracy, where the individual and the people exist in a sterile equality, and from Marxism, where they disappear into the anonymous masses.
Furthermore, the fascist state's commitment to the people is clearly demonstrated by its economic system and its professional organizations, which encompass the entire working and productive population; likewise, it also demonstrates this by diverse social policy measures in favor of the working class, especially those most affected by the economic crisis.
The Fascist state is also popular in the field of education: the essential areas of pedagogy—family and intellectual education, ethical and religious education, as well as school and vocational training—are administered according to the guidelines and under the initiative of the state, naturally primarily for the benefit of the lower classes; also worth mentioning here are the effective health and social education provided by the National Institute for the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood, the physical and moral education imparted by the Balilla to the young generations, the athletic, artistic, and vocational education provided by the National Institute for Leisure (Dopolavoro), and finally, the diverse efforts of the Fascist Party itself, which embody both moral and social discipline; this education of a traditional people addresses the issue of the subjects' conviction and consensus, thereby acquiring a special significance and a political emphasis that is equally free from democratic leniency and demagogic exaggeration.

The actions and responsibilities of the Fascist government are also rooted in the people - in other constitutions, termed popular and democratic, the selection of the ruling class takes place primarily through elections or referendums; in the fascist regime, by contrast, leaders must prove their ability and suitability through practical tests: for example, the leader must first prove himself within the circle to which he belongs and must then place the fruits of his knowledge and power at the service of the people and the common good - thus, a clear awareness of his duties grows within him from the feelings and life of the group, from the spirit that binds him to the community through a constant exchange of energy, and from the conviction of the value and necessity of his own work for the common good.
Likewise, the fascist state's connection to the people becomes evident in the form and manner in which it draws the masses into participation in public life and in the functions of government, for the people's participation in government means the contribution of those subject to the legal order to the formation of that very order.
This participation has a different character depending on the form of government - in an autocratic regime, the masses are not permitted to participate in any way, either directly or indirectly, in the formation of the legal order; in liberal constitutions, their participation aims solely at the protection of individual interests and privileges through legal norms, thereby reducing the state to a mere guarantor; in a democratic regime, the masses participate in the formation of the legal order through elections; in a

syndicalist regime, they are masters of the political function and secure the legal and economic order by depriving the state of its authority; in a socialist regime, they shape the constitution by subordinating the legal and political functions to economic necessity.
Participation in government must, in all these constitutions, be committed to the doctrine of popular sovereignty and necessarily be limited to elections and parliamentary representation; fascist doctrine, on the other hand, regards the people not as an element that is consulted at more or less regular intervals by means of the ballot, but as a totality of energies that are to participate continuously in constitutional functions through the forms of law; in the corporative constitution, the mass of those subject to the legal order participates in the formation of this legal order indirectly through elections and directly through their own organizations. Participation, which in a parliamentary regime is limited to an electoral system, is here a continuous one; it takes place through the productive, professional, and cultural associations that are themselves subject to the legal order, but which, in turn, establish legal norms that could be called their constitution and their statutes - in this way, individual, collective, and general interests receive greater and better protection than in other constitutions.
In the corporative regime, protection follows from an orderly form of cooperation between the state, the collective, and the individual; this corporative formula of cooperation not only increases the durability and stability of the legal order, but also the clarity of political and constitutional guidelines.

**State, Authority, and Form of Government**

The fascist state's connection to the people, however, is in no way at odds with its authority and sovereignty[60] - according to our doctrine, the sovereignty of the state is founded no less on the will of the subjects and social associations than on reason and justice; it is further grounded in those needs inherent in individuals and social entities by nature, which can only be realized in an orderly manner under the rule of a higher authority: from this arise the form and power of the state.
The necessity for individuals and associations to unite into social and national orders endows the state with that sum of characteristics and powers that constitute its sovereignty; according to our doctrine, these find their original justification in their spontaneous necessity. The state arises from reasons that lie inescapably in the course of the development and perfection of social orders; its sovereignty appears not only as a political and legal creation, but also as a social and historical one; it does not depend on any kind of contract between individuals, but rather, it takes shape through an alignment of interests and a synthesis of values—that is, thanks to spontaneous circumstances that, in the course of social development, receive confirmation and consent from individuals and collectives - therefore, the sovereignty thus created is always a sovereignty willed by the people, because it corresponds to their needs, interests, and aspirations.
Accordingly, a state connected to the people can at the same time be an authoritarian state - Hitler even asserts:

*"The first foundation for the formation of authority is always popularity... if popularity and power unite and are able to endure together for a certain time, then an authority can arise on an even firmer*

[60] See August Winnig, "Der Weg zur nationalen Arbeiterbewegung" (The Path to the National Workers' Movement) in "What We Expect from National Socialism", edited by A. E. Günther, Heilbronn 1932. p. 17.

*foundation: the authority of tradition. When popularity, power, and tradition finally unite, an authority may be regarded as unshakable."*[61]

The apex of the fascist state constitution is the monarchy, as the form that corresponds to our tradition and our mindset - while Hitler said[62]:

*"The question of the form of government, i.e., the question of the monarchy, is of secondary or tertiary importance; it concerns form and not substance; other more urgent problems require our whole energy."*

We say:

*"Although Fascism had adopted a republican stance before 1922 more for accidental reasons, it abandoned this stance before the March on Rome out of the consideration that the political form of a state is not a matter of primary importance today - a study of the spectrum of monarchies past and present reveals that monarchy and republic are not to be judged from the perspective of eternity, but rather represent forms in which the political development, history, tradition, and spiritual disposition of a particular people find expression."*[63]

In Italy, the form of government is of particular importance because, in our historical and intellectual development, no contradiction or distinction was possible between dynastic patriotism, national spirit, love of the fatherland, and ethnic nationalism[64]. For us, the crown is the personal synthesis of the state; it guarantees the unity and continuity of rulers, and it is the permanent expression of an imperial idea as understood by Fascism: as sovereignty, consciousness, the nation's confidence in its destiny, power, and ability to shape it.
This unitarian spirit encompasses and transcends all other elements; it is a real and spiritual, personal and symbolic unity. Throughout history, monarchy has been recognized as having the advantage of unity over all other forms of government - aristocratic rule is an intermediate form and usually also mediocre, while democracy, as the rule of the many, is subject to errors and weaknesses.
But the imperial unity represented by the crown acquires a special character in Italy through the force of events: unlike what was usually the case, in Italy the monarchy has, in both the past and the present century, brought the revolution to completion and established the constitution; for this reason, Fascism will find its support in the monarchical principle and identify itself unequivocally with it, provided that revolution and constitution represent its historical stages and the unitary and authoritative principle governs its conception of the state.
For the preservation of historical unity and continuity, the monarchy is an element of the utmost importance, and, at the very least, other forms and personifications of the head of state cannot guarantee unity and continuity with the same certainty - although one can admit that the hereditary monarchy is not free of flaws, it nevertheless represents the dignity and sovereignty of the total nation-state better than other forms.

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[61] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", p. 579.
[62] See in this regard Helmut Nicolai, "Foundation of the Future Constitution", Berlin 1933, p. 10.
[63] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part II, No. 6.
[64] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", pp. 11, 103, 104.

**Economic Unity**

The Fascist state is the legal embodiment of the Italian nation, which constitutes not only a moral and political unity but also an economic one.

The economic unity of the nation and the state is the synthesis of the energies and organizations of production, for proper economic policy can only be realized on a national basis precisely because people have united into nations to safeguard their interests and to legally regulate their essential relationships - however much economic interests may extend into the international sphere, the interplay of forms of production must be regulated within each nation if it is to achieve the fullest development of its productive capacity.
It is said that economic interests are supranational, that is, anti-national; however, precisely because it would be neither possible nor useful to confine them to the framework of the nation, it is not only useful, but even necessary to bring them into harmony with the interests of the nation - herein lies the purpose and task of the corporative constitution.

Without becoming an economic state, the state intervenes wherever the discipline and organization of production are at stake; this is all the more true because, while economic problems present themselves to different peoples in the same way, their solutions (or rather the means to their solution) differ significantly depending on the stage of development and the degree of economic capacity in each country.
In Italy, the productive forces organize themselves—not into classes on an international basis—but across classes on a national basis; in this way, the corporative constitution restores the balance of classes and fosters cooperation among the productive forces.[65]
The corporative doctrine and constitution upholds the fundamental principle of general solidarity toward the masses and applies it to economic function; additionally, it tackles a proper solution to the problem by establishing general discipline through the interaction and interlocking of all forces involved in production - thus, this is how the fascist doctrine views the relationship between politics and the economy, which forms the core of every theory of the state.
Liberalism asserts the autonomy of politics in relation to the economy, and socialism subordinates politics to the economy; meanwhile, corporatism seeks to place economy and politics on an equal footing while also subordinating both to the general theory of the state, which unites and regulates all activities through the law - therefore, the state's legal order must complement the order of economic forces, which strive for unity by virtue of the sense of community inherent in individuals.
The direction of will and the alignment of interests are present; what is lacking is only the power that coordinates and organizes - such a power is the state, which, by virtue of its legal personality and the breadth of its sovereign functions, is alone capable of acting in a unitarian sense; thus, a fundamental problem is solved, for the organization of the productive forces is a necessity of today's society.
The corporative constitution eliminates the antagonism between professional organizations and the state and transforms it into an essential element of the political and economic structure; the negative, inactive and institutional phase of the syndicalist system is followed by the positive, organically constructive and constitutional phase of the corporative system; this, too, realizes general interests in accordance with the basic principle of Fascism through the cooperation of individuals, social associations, and the state.

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[65] See August Winnig, "Der Weg zur nationalen Arbeiterbewegung" (The Path to the National Workers' Movement) in: "What We Expect from National Socialism", p. 11.

It is often claimed that the national and corporative movement destroys the individual; however, nothing could be further from the truth - here, the doctrine and practice of Fascism and National Socialism coincide completely.
As Adolf Hitler puts it:

> *"The integration of the... broad masses of our people into a national community does not mean renouncing the representation of legitimate class interests."*[66]

National movements must uphold the value of the individual precisely because the value of the collective is built upon it; it is precisely on this point that the national and corporative order differs from the Marxist one, because it recognizes not only the value of the race, but also that of the individual, and makes both values the foundations of the entire social structure.[67]
Our Duce has said that, in the Fascist state, the individual is not annulled but multiplied - in this sense, one can certainly assert that the Fascist state is a mass regime and that it represents the ordered existence of an entire people; the corporative structure begins with the individual and gradually develops into collective forms in which the so-called dualism of individualistic tendencies and organized totalitarianism is overcome.

**The Corporative Economy**

In the corporative order, the state intervenes in the relations between capital and labor and stabilizes them in the interest of peaceful coexistence among social groups; it thus abolishes classes in the name of the higher principle of harmony and the overcoming of opposing positions.
The corporative order, which is truly the substance and not the antithesis of the state (even in its specific form as a constitutional state), has the task of bringing the struggles of both employers and employees into a system of legal relations - from this task arise the following institutions and fundamental principles of public law:

- a) The legal recognition of trade unions and the employment contracts they conclude,
- b) The establishment of the corporation as a state organ, authorized to enact general norms regulating labor relations,
- c) The establishment of the labor court to adjudicate labor disputes and the prohibition of self-help, which is regarded as a crime and punished.

In this way, the economic and productive unity of the nation is realized.
Unity is preached because all institutions are fundamental, necessary and essential; they are parts of a system that are so closely interconnected that the entire system would collapse with the loss of any one of these elements. Unity is also preached because a genuine sense of solidarity truly governs corporate relations; in fact, all interests that are protected by the various associations and bodies, regardless of their specific nature, are subsumed under a higher common good, and the particular interests of employers and

[66] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", pp. 372, 373.
[67] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", S. 387.

employees find their foundation in two higher interests: production and the development of national power, and that of fairness and justice.

The professional organization protects the interests of the category (employers or employees), but only within the framework of the general interest, of which those interests form a part; when the corporation protects the general interests of production, it thereby simultaneously protects the interests of the category, and when the labor court upholds the principles of fairness and justice, it simultaneously upholds the combined interests of employers and employees.
In the protection of interests, there is a difference in form and means, but the goal is one and the same - there is unity in function, but a difference in proportion.
All these institutions participate in the realization of the general goals of national existence; in their combined effect, they provide the unified guidelines, the organization of the productive categories, and their participation in public life and in government.
To this end, not only is discipline emanating from public authority necessary, but also a spontaneous activity of the will subordinated to the idea of the state - thus, the corporative structure also has a profoundly moral foundation, that is, the legal order must find the intellectual space for its development, for just as a sense of the state and national consciousness morally underpin territorial integrity, so too must a corporative consciousness give form and stability to the economic organisms from within.

In the realm of economic organization and discipline, Fascism and National Socialism pursues the same guidelines and goals; for example, the head of the Italian government has stated that some of the Fascist concepts, such as the organization of trades into guilds and associations within the state, are also applicable to Germany, all the more so since the corporative system there has already been prepared by large organizations and represents merely a further step forward.
The guiding principles of this organization of productive forces on a national basis were fully adopted by the Führer of National Socialism; in exactly the same way, he has recognized the commonalities and differences of the interests of the various production groups and derives from this the necessity of jointly regulating and disciplining them in their operations.[68]
Adolf Hitler resolved the fundamental questions of an organizational and trade union nature by stating that professional organizations must be preserved and strengthened, namely as necessary basic elements of national life and as the foundation of the future Economic Parliament[69] - just as in our corporative order, the economic order of National Socialism is also based on the principle of the unity of the professional organization within each category, for the existence of a national professional organization would be meaningless alongside one of a different nature and structure; all organizations must likewise be inspired and guided by a corporative spirit, will, and consciousness.[70]
The Reich Chancellor has initiated the second phase of the German revolution, which he describes as the phase of corporative state-building; in this aspect, the reintegration of the powerful socialist organizations into a national form of existence was carried out with great speed and iron resolve: all so-called “free trade unions” were seized, as were the editorial offices of the numerous Social Democratic and free trade union newspapers, whose publication was immediately banned; this comprehensive and simultaneous action was highly successful and demonstrated the full readiness of the National Socialist masses.

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[68] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", p. 676.
[69] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", p. 502.
[70] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", pp. 674, 675, 678.

Dr. Ley, as leader of the campaign, declared: We are committed to the corporatist ideal; the professional organizations are to fulfill not only an important organizational function but also an educational one, as they are the foundations of the corporative state. The new Economic Parliament will lead Germany's new economy; the task of the Brownshirts is to unite the workers and employees of the entire nation into a single front.
Thus, Marxism has been liquidated in Germany in exactly the same way as in Italy; the professional organizations cease to be instruments of class struggle, but have instead become fundamental structural elements of the corporative state.

**Property and Capital, Private Initiative and Production**

The corporate systems of Italy and Germany embody a fundamentally new assessment of the essential elements of the economy: property and capital, labor, initiative, rent, and production.

The National Socialist Party's program recognizes private property and places it under the protection of the state, but adds that the welfare of the people requires that limits be set on the excessive enrichment of individuals; the spectacle of workers plundered and financially enslaved by capitalists and of the indebted middle class is, in fact, no longer tolerable.[71]
National Socialism combats every attack by capitalist finance on wealth acquired through labor or inherited as family property; at the same time, however, as a staunch enemy of Marxism, it resists every attempt to nationalize private property and regards the preservation of secure land ownership as the most suitable means of warding off internationalist doctrines and tendencies.
National Socialism recognizes the right of inheritance and property lawfully inherited or acquired through labor, both in the realm of industrial production and in the realm of land ownership.[72]
The Italian economic constitution also recognizes private property, capital, and private initiative; but production must be unified, as the Second Declaration of the Carta del Cavaro emphasizes:

*"From the national standpoint, the complex of production is a unity, as is its purpose, which can be characterized as the prosperity of individuals and the development of national strength."*

However, in order not to miss these goals, our legal system defines with the utmost precision the position and tasks of private property and capital within the corporative system - just as the labor of every individual must, so too must the owner, with the strength of his person and his assets, serve the unity of national production, because the economic development of the nation can be achieved only through the joint and sustained effort of all productive forces; that is why the Declaration of the Carta del Lavoro states:

*"The corporative state regards private initiative as the most effective and useful instrument of the national interest."*

Furthermore:

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[71] Gottfried Feder, "Das Programm der NSDAP" (The Program of the NSDAP), p. 35, II, 8.
[72] See Hans Buchner, "Grundriß einer nationalsozialistischen Volkswirtschaftstheorie" (Outline of a National Socialist Economic Theory), National Socialist Library, Issue 16, Munich 1933, p. 22.

*"...since the private organization of production constitutes a function of the national interest, the organizer of the enterprise is responsible to the state for the enterprise."*

Capital is thus an element of industry, and its task, duty, and responsibility are in part a matter of public order.

Under the corporative regime, the right of property is given a precise definition and function in both the economic and legal spheres.[73]
The free market economy regards property as a right that confers full and unrestricted control over the object or the capital, and the socialist economy denies property and allows individuals only a profit, while property as a right remains reserved for the state; meanwhile, the corporative economy regards property as a right, as power of disposal, and as profit, but always only within the framework of the higher interests of production and the nation; this is an ethical conception that elevates property to the dignity of a social function without depriving it of the character of an individual right - maximum collective prosperity is achieved by subordinating wealth and property rights to national considerations, which in turn are reconciled with individual and collective benefit.
Once the class struggle has been overcome, property assumes an important and binding function, for capital must be productive - in the corporative regime, where property, labor, entrepreneurs and workers are equally regarded as producers, where labor is a social duty, and where every serious endeavor to increase production is encouraged, idleness or flight of capital could not be tolerated; idle property betrays its own economic function, and this is impossible in our system because, in it, property is in fact a service.

Capital and property must embody the initiative, which in the corporative order is regarded as the most effective and useful instrument of the national interest - when initiative is lacking, the state intervenes.
In the liberal economy, it is free initiative, i.e., an initiative developed by the private sector without any control or discipline from the state; in the socialist regime, there is public or collective initiative, that is, state initiative, while private initiative, on the other hand, is completely eliminated; private individuals are merely tasked with carrying out the state's orders, because the state has taken every form of economic and productive activity under its own direction.
In a corporative regime, initiative originates directly from private individuals under their own responsibility, but is indirectly limited, monitored, and regulated by the state, because the state must reconcile the activities of private individuals with the general interest - this explains the stance of the Ninth Declaration of the Carta del Lavoro:

*"The state intervenes in economic production only when private initiative is insufficient or entirely absent, or when the state's political interests are at stake; such intervention may take the form of control, encouragement, or direct management."*

This is the active role of the state with regard to productive activity: the owner who leaves his capital unproductive loses the right to manage it, the state intervenes through direct management, and the inactive owner loses both the management and the income from his assets; if, on the other hand, someone who

[73] See Guido Bortolotto, "Lo Stato e la dottrina corporativa" (The State and Corporate Doctrine), Vol. II No. 228.

wishes to put his capital to productive use runs out of means or opportunities for reasons beyond his control, the corporate state intervenes, not as a substitute or manager, but for the purpose of assistance and encouragement.

The situation is no different in our system with regard to labor - while democratic doctrine believed it was paying labor the highest honor by elevating it to the same rank as education and property, in doing so, it did not give labor its true honor and achieved nothing more than turning the working class into a voting mass; meanwhile, Marxism branded labor as manual labor exploited and oppressed by capitalism, and in doing so, it turned its people into a mass of dissatisfied, rebellious proletarians.
While syndicalism views labor as an element in the organizational structure of the propertyless class, and in doing so created a mass organization that is perpetually at odds with the constitution and the law, corporatism has recognized the character and value of labor as a social duty; it has made the people a community of producers who are equally subject to the legal order within the framework of the state.
In fact, through professional organizations, corporate bodies and the labor court, the legal equality of producers (employers and employees) is realized; there is now complete equality between entrepreneur and worker, for even if the former bears the initiative and responsibility, the latter is recognized as an active collaborator in the same enterprise[74]; on the other hand, the collective agreement is the concrete expression of solidarity among the various factors of production, in that it reconciles the opposing interests of employers and employees as subordinates to the higher interests of production.[75]

Just as the state protects and encourages every productive activity, it prohibits anything that is directed against the interests of production, which is understood as state interests; any interruption of work by the employer (lockout) or by the worker (strike) is prohibited and punished as a crime, and violators of the prohibition are held accountable under both public economic law and criminal law.
It is claimed that the use of the so-called “economic weapon” is both a right and a duty of workers; however, practice has proven, and continues to prove, that this weapon is directed against its bearers themselves and has never brought them any benefit, for its harms are ultimately greater than its benefits.
The fact that all legislation contains provisions regarding mandatory arbitration in the event of labor disputes demonstrates a clear intention to abolish economic weapons due to their dangerousness, even if those provisions cannot be properly enforced due to the lack of sanctions for non-compliance - our legislation, with its labor court against strikes and lockouts, has merely followed the general trend.[76]
The objection that economic weapons must be used in the name of freedom can easily be countered with the response that they must be prohibited in the name of fairness, justice, social welfare, and peace—indeed, even in the name of freedom itself; in this way, within the corporatist doctrine, property, capital, economic initiative and labor are indispensable functions of production and instruments of the general welfare.

**Corporative Consciousness**

The economic policy of National Socialism also illustrates how the corporative order is based on three fundamental principles: first, the principle that the general interest takes precedence over particular

[74] VII. Declaration of the Carta del Lavoro.
[75] According to the Fifth Declaration of the Carta del Lavoro
[76] Guido Bortolotto, “Lo Stato e la dottrina corporativa”, Vol. II No. 230.

interests ("the common good comes before self-interest"); second, the principle that economic policy is not intended to guarantee the rights of capital, but rather to meet the vital needs of the economy as a whole, and third, the principle of clearing the way for productivity by protecting it against all attacks - just as in our social and educational system, the individual feels elevated to a higher state of mind and attitude through membership in his professional organization and thus in the unity of his state; he knows himself to be integrated into the organized whole of the people, and, in his involvement with productive activity, it takes on a new character for him, one that is entirely different from the individualistic fixation on one's own interests.

This feeling, which Feder[77] calls the "public spirit," we Italians have called corporate consciousness[78]; it does not exclude individual consciousness, but complements it and connects it with public life: first, it is a feeling of belonging to the community, then, a stirring of the individual spirit by the emergence of the collective soul, and finally, the determination of one's own activity within the social sphere - thus, corporate consciousness is the spiritual content of an organized collective, a product of human nature which forms the unity of the mass from the multiplicity of elements by transforming the diverse and contradictory into the similar and the uniform.

Corporate consciousness is a psychological result of the convergence and interference of psychological activities; although it presupposes individual consciousness, it is not identical to it, nor is it superior or unequal to it.

The following distinction must be noted: while in the case of occasional and temporary mass gatherings, where objective and subjective reality often differs from the objective and subjective reality of their individual components, in the case of permanent and organic masses—such as the professional and production associations of the corporate system—the objective reality i.e., the interests, and the subjective reality, i.e., the soul and will of the individuals and the collectives is maintained; moreover, if this correspondence did not exist, the mass could not form a homogeneous, organic, permanent whole, nor would it be a social structure in our sense, but rather an accumulation devoid of any solidity or permanence. These latter characteristics arise for them only from the consciousness of belonging, from the sense of community—in short, from that corporate consciousness which constitutes the psychological aspect of the masses and which clarifies, supplements, and completes their social concept - thus (in both the Italian corporative and the German National Socialist regimes), what is psychologically consensus or consciousness, but sociologically belonging to the organized collective, appears economically as the relationship between one's own interest and the general interest; this is the theoretical and practical justification of the fundamental principle that "the common good comes before self-interest."

No less important is the second principle, according to which a truly national economy does not exist for the benefit of one economic class or another, but must keep in mind the balanced satisfaction of all interests - according to our doctrine, both the liberal economy of capitalism and the Marxist dictatorship of the proletariat are immoral, because while the former believes that if the economy flourishes and capital yields a profit, everything is fine—and yet the capitalist's gain may well coincide with the worker's loss—the latter believes that everything is fine if the workers get their due—and yet this individual prosperity may be bought at the cost of industrial decline.

In the corporate regime, the organization of the economy takes into account both the prosperity of individuals and the power of the nation, and above all, it never serves any form of speculation; the task of

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[77] Gottfried Feder, "The Program of the NSDAP", 1931, p. 39.

[78] Guido Bortolotto, "Governanti e governati" (Rulers and the Ruled), Milan 1933, p. 85.

the economy is the realization of the needs and interests of the general public, not the greater or lesser return on capital.[79]

The third principle common to both phenomena is that of productivity - the second declaration of the Carta del Lavoro states:

*"Work in all forms of its organization and practice—intellectual, technical, and artisanal—is a social duty; it is protected by the state as such and only as such."*

And likewise, Point Ten of the National Socialist Program states:

*"The first duty of every citizen must be to work mentally or physically; the activities of the individual must not violate the interests of the community, but must be carried out within the framework of the whole and for the benefit of all."*

Two main tendencies of the National Socialist program arise from the idea of productivity: the first is directed against unproductive elements and aims, as Point Eleven states, to abolish income gained without work or effort; the second aims to facilitate the path of the creators and the development of their activities by removing all obstacles arising from prohibited speculation.
The so-called breaking of the bondage of interest, that is, the struggle against international finance and loan capital, is, as is often repeated, one of the main points of the National Socialist program, and is intended to secure freedom and economic independence for the nation.[80]

[79] See Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", pp. 228, 229, 232, 233; Gottfried Feder, "The Program of the NSDAP", pp. 33, 35.
[80] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", p. 233; Gottfried Feder, "The Program of the NSDAP", p. 23.

## III. Politics and Legislation

### Politics, the State, and the Party

Benito Mussolini wrote:

*"The years preceding the March on Rome were years in which the necessity to act left no room for research or the full elaboration of a doctrine... the doctrine could be absent then, for it was replaced by something more decisive: by faith...*
*It was precisely during those years that the fascist idea took shape, refined itself, and moved toward organization; the problems of the individual and the state, of authority and freedom, the political and social problems, as well as the more specific national issues, and the struggle against the doctrines of the liberals, democrats, socialists, Freemasons, and Popolari[81] all arose simultaneously with punitive campaigns.*
*Since the system was lacking, opponents maliciously denied Fascism any doctrinal capacity, while the doctrine, though in a state of fermentation, was meanwhile in the process of emerging: first as a decisive dogmatic negation, as is the case with all newly emerging ideas, and then as a positive construction, which was successively realized in the years 1926, 1927, and 1928 in the laws and institutions of the regime."*[82]

Thus, the constructive process of the revolution, while discarding surviving facades, lays the foundations of the new structure; the laws and legal norms arising from revolutions exhibit distinctive characteristics, tending toward stable order while retaining their revolutionary character - in the same way, certain institutions that became established elements of the constitution were created during turbulent, difficult revolutionary times.
In this regard, the party deserves special recognition, particularly in the context of Fascism and National Socialism: in our country, the party has evolved from a revolutionary mass movement into a governmental institution, just as the German law of December 1st, 1933 secured the unity of party and state.

Benito Mussolini wrote:

*"Fascism arose from the necessity of action; it was not a party at first, but in its first two years an opposition and a movement."*

It would later be constituted as a party, specifically as an effective counterforce against the other political factions and their bitter methods of competition - now the National Fascist Party has become a state institution.
The head of the government says:

*"If in Fascism everything is part of the state, the party could not escape this inexorable necessity either; consequently, it must cooperate in subordination with the organs of the state. "*

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[81] Referring to the Italian People's Party, a Catholic centrist political party. - The Translator
[82] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part 2, No. 2.

Thus, in our country, the party retains its revolutionary character forever, for, as the preamble to the Statute states, Fascism is not merely a grouping of Italians around a specific program, but above all a faith and a service, and members must be subject to strict discipline and be prepared to act with full dedication; at the same time, the party also has the character of an important permanent institution of the Fascist state, for it represents vital interests and goals that concern not only the members, but the entire Italian people - thus, the regime simultaneously provides social leadership and political education.
It is the atmosphere that surrounds the constitution and paves the way for its practical application, but the party is the active link. The state is the legal organization of society; the regime is the bridge between society and the state. The state has organs; the regime has institutions, and in these lies the foundation of the unitary structure which, like the Catholic Church, knows how to penetrate the life, customs, and spirit of the masses. The political regime differs from the legal order, for which it serves as an aid and a complement; it differs from the government, but is always connected to it, and just as it is itself subject to the influence of the form of government and the legal order, so does it, in turn, exert an informing and guiding influence on the actions and powers of the state.
Just as politics relates to law, so do the regime and the party relate to the law - in this way, through the rapid, total upheaval of the Fascist Revolution, the party has transformed itself from a simple private association into a major institution of public law and a principal instrument of the regime; while the latter now encompasses and unites all Italians, the Fascist Party, on the other hand, admits only those who have proven their loyalty, as well as the younger generation that has grown up under the new educational system.

This is the development of the party in Italy, but Germany also envisions the same path for itself - in a speech delivered in June 1933 to party officials, the Reich Chancellor addressed the role of the Brownshirts in the construction of the state; he assumes that the regulation of relations between the party and the state will take years, but sees in it the key to national rebirth.
The law of December 1st, 1933 concerns the safeguarding of the unity of party and state[83]; the preamble to the law emphasizes that the unity of party and state was born at the moment the Reich President entrusted the chancellorship—and thus the leadership of the state—to the leader of the NSDAP.
The first paragraph of the law states that the National Socialist German Workers' Party, following victory and the seizure of power, has become the bearer of the German concept of the state and is inextricably linked to the state, just as the Fascist Party is in Italy; the second paragraph of the law brings the legal framework into accordance with historical truth by conferring upon the NSDAP the legal status of a public-law corporation, just as the Fascist Party has been defined in Italy - the National Socialist revolution thus retains its historical validity.

The first supporters and members are being given special consideration by the leaders who have come to power, just as the early fascists were in our country; Propaganda Minister Goebbels declared at a gathering of the Old Guard and the first party members that the government of the National Socialist Revolution would not leave any of the old Brownshirts unemployed and would initially provide work for the first 50,000 members - in this way, the party undergoes both a special revaluation and a transformation, and the forces gathered within it will now defend the inviolability of the state, just as they

[83] RGBI [Reichsgesetzblatt] I, p. 1016.

once made the revolution; the revolutionary parties, which must above all win over the masses during their rapid advance, are indeed intransigent, but with the aim of gradually gaining ground.
The regime and the party-turned-state therefore undergo three characteristic periods of development: the initial stage of the uprising, driven by a small idealistic group, in which the party is founded; then the second stage of propaganda during the growth of the revolution, which is predominantly demagogic and revolutionary in character, and in which it already gains a large number of followers and develops its party activities; finally, the third period of constitutional development following the seizure of power, in which the party assumes a total, national character and carries out activities of general significance - thus it must be understood that the revolutionary masses, although inspired by the will for the totality of national reconstruction, engage in mere party activity during the first two periods in order to defeat the other parties in the election campaign.
Both the Fascist and the National Socialist parties have necessarily passed through this stage, and just as it is true that they ended up as nationally unified entities, so it is also true that, as they drew nearer to power, they had to change their face and their methods; by their very nature, the tendencies of political parties are particularistic, while total formations, on the other hand, are based on universal concepts of life, discipline, and politics:

*"Political parties are inclined to compromise; worldviews never are. Political parties even reckon with opponents; worldviews proclaim their infallibility."*[84]

**Revolution and Legislation**

The parallels between the political activities and legislation of Fascism and National Socialism are also striking - if we compare Italy's legislative and regulatory activity since 1923 with that of Hitler, we find remarkable similarities in structure and development.
It cannot be otherwise: since both revolutions sprang from the same spirit and are directed toward the same goals, both must fight the same enemies and remove the same obstacles, and since the leaders of both revolutions have assumed the responsibility of power in order to remedy the shortcomings and damages of the past and to build up productive forces such as those on a national basis, it is understandable that the two legislative bodies also exhibit the same character.
The revolution must enable itself to exercise power effectively without being hampered by parliamentary maneuvers or mass opposition; it must establish the organs for the exercise of public functions; it must guarantee the order and security of the state, ensure the necessary means for the nation's livelihood and development, and finally take measures to overcome the crisis and revive the economy - therefore, the legislative activity of revolutions must primarily concern the following state necessities:

a) the exercise of public authority
b) the order and security of the state
c) economic and financial resources
d) reconstruction

Let us briefly examine these points in the regimes of Mussolini and Hitler:

[84] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", p. 507, cf. p. 423.

When the national revolution came to power and enacted the decrees intended to make government possible, the adherents of liberal and democratic traditions protested in the name of freedom and self-government; they accused the national government—as if it were a dictatorship—of arrogance, violence, and tyranny (see the chapter "National Entities and International Life" below). But the post-liberal diversion to eternal principles and the usual themes of propaganda and polemics has outlived its time, because the facts have proven, more eloquently than any speech, that only the regime of authority (which is neither tyranny nor reaction) enables a resolution of the crisis in today's turbulent period of state life by avoiding the shortcomings and errors of democratic-parliamentary constitutions.
In these constitutions, there has always been an imbalance between the individual branches of government, particularly between the legislative and executive branches; this was a necessary and immediate consequence of the decline of parliamentary custom. The doctrine of cabinet government requires that the government be formed from the ranks of the majority party and resign as soon as it no longer enjoys that party's confidence; it was thought that this system offered a guarantee, because here the government corresponds to the will of the parliamentary majority, but it is dangerous when the majority becomes fragmented and loses its firmness and consistency.
In the development of parliamentary democracy, it has become apparent that party fragmentation is growing ever greater, and that the executive, in order to secure the majority necessary for governance, has always had to enter into compromises and transactions - all of this is the consequence of liberal freedom, democratic equality, and popular sovereignty; legislative power suppresses, absorbs, and ultimately replaces executive power, and the uncertainty and shifts in party relations no longer allow the government to represent real authority, but only the illusion of authority.
In a democratic regime, the government has always been viewed as a threat to freedom; if a government without power and a ministry without authority were characteristic features of democracy, then this is linked to the fundamental flaw in its state structure - demagoguery devoured authority, while the government stood on no secure foundation and could not carry out legislative or administrative reform plans to completion, since their success is guaranteed only by the stability of the government over a number of years.

**The Government and Powers**

The laws of the national revolution aim above all to achieve stability by redefining the scope of state powers and strengthening the executive branch.
The executive branch embodies the active, effective, and essential function of the state[85]; to restore the state's full sovereignty means to free the government from the arbitrariness and whims of parliament and reestablishing its autonomy in the legally defined form of exercising sovereign rights, both in the realm of lawmaking and that of law enforcement; the supremacy of the executive branch over the other branches is justified by the fact that it is the only one that operates permanently and continuously.

Granting the government greater authority and a more solid reputation was the first constitutional act of both Italian Fascism and National Socialism; both gave effect to this fundamental principle of their doctrine through laws that established a fundamentally revolutionized new order.
After Mussolini had received powers from the national governments at the beginning of his rule, two revolutionary laws were enacted by the fascist legislature to regulate and strengthen government activity:

[85] See Helmut Nicolai, "Foundation of the Future Constitution", Berlin 1932, pp. 52, 53.

the Law of December 24th, 1925, No. 2263, on the duties and privileges of the Prime Minister, First Minister, and Secretary of State, as well as the law of January 31st, 1926, No. 100, on the authority of the executive branch to enact legal norms.
The first law restores the authority of the head of government and the unity of the cabinet—a unity not in the sense of joint ministerial responsibility, but in the sense of a unified will and action. Under this law, the Prime Minister is superior to the other members of the government and independent of them in both existence and function; he is no longer subject to the legislative branch and is granted special protection in his office, and as a result, the executive branch is removed from all parliamentary influences and pitfalls that previously threatened its existence.
Furthermore, the executive branch is empowered by the laws of the fascist revolution to enact legal norms that regulate the nation's activities; specifically, the second law permits it to issue decrees beyond the scope of existing laws - that is to say, it is empowered to take the place of the legislative branch by being able to enact legal norms that would normally require a formal law.
The National Socialist Party in Germany was granted the same power and authority - Point 25 of the National Socialist Party program had recognized the necessity of establishing a strong central state authority, and although it further demanded the unconditional authority of Parliament over the entire Reich, it was an absolute necessity for the government to obtain powers from the national legislature, such that it was not dependent on Parliament's authorization in every urgent matter, even though it remained accountable to Parliament for the steps taken in the meantime.
The Enabling Act (Act to Remedy the Distress of the People and the Reich, RGBI. 1933 I, p. 141) is dated March 24th, 1933, and is valid for four years, that is, until April 1st, 1937; under it, binding legal norms may also be enacted outside the regular legislative process.
These "simplified laws" have the broadest scope and extend to everything that can be regulated by law. The government is not bound by the currently existing constitution; only the rights of the Reich President remain untouched under Article 2 of the law; under Article 3, however, not even treaties that the government intends to conclude with other states require ratification by the legislative body.[86]
In accordance with this Reich law, analogous powers have been conferred upon the governments of the individual states by the Act of March 31st, 1933 (Provisional Act on the Alignment of the States with the Reich, RGBI 1933, I, p. 153) and the relevant ordinances.[87]

**State Organs in Italy**

The unity of the state is realized both at the center and on the periphery; the exercise of authority must be active and constant in both central and local bodies, and both, inspired by the same spirit, must also follow the same guidelines and instill in the unitary nation the qualities that ignited the revolutionary passion - therefore, once the stability of the central bodies and the political line has been secured, two urgent necessities arise for national policy and legislation:

a) to create the bodies, corporations, and institutions that guarantee the continuity of the political direction and the unity of administrative functions

[86] See: Franz Albrecht Medicus, "Programm der Reichsregierung und Ermächtigungsgesetz" (The Reich Government's Program and the Enabling Act), Berlin 1933, pp. 17 ff.
[87] See: Georg Kaisenberg, "Gleichschaltung der Länder mit dem Reich" (Bringing the States Into Line With the Reich), Berlin 1933, pp. 7 ff.

b) to form a body of officials who, through education, outlook, spirit, and will, are suited to champion the goals of the revolution

In Italy, the first necessity is served by the reorganization of provincial and municipal bodies and administrations, which are now led by select individuals in accordance with the same regulations: the administration of the province is under the authority of the prefect, the rector with the provincial rectorate, and the provincial secretary of the party with the directorate; the administration of the municipalities is under the authority of the podestà with the municipal council, and the secretary of the party with the local directorate.
Under the Fascist system, the provincial prefect has not only the character of an administrative official but, within the limits of his duties, also that of a functionary with the difficult tasks of supervision, control, and, if necessary, initiative in the aforementioned sphere of provincial life. His duties were expanded and defined by the law of April 3rd, 1926, No. 660 - in accordance with general government principles, he is to ensure the uniformity of political direction through the alignment and control of all state and local government bodies; the same task falls to the rector and the provincial rectorate in the administration, and for economic matters, the provincial councils for the corporate economy are attached to them.
Social discipline and policy, as well as the specific directives of the Fascist regime, are represented by the Party Secretary together with the Provincial Directorate; the Party Secretary is responsible for all measures falling within the Party's jurisdiction, in coordination with the other bodies and, above all, with the prefects as representatives of the administration.
Similarly, at the municipal level, the Podestà serves as a government official and administrator of the municipality; together with the municipal council, he oversees administration, and together with the local secretary and the Party Directorate, he ensures the implementation and adherence to the political line - the establishment of the Podestà and the municipal council, originally reserved for municipalities with no more than 5,000 inhabitants, was extended to all municipalities of the Kingdom by Laws No. 237 of February 6th, 1926 and No. 910 of September 3rd, 1926.

An authoritarian, hierarchical, totalitarian regime also requires a large number of civil servants who all guarantee compliance with political directives.
Since the civil servant, for his part, represents the sovereignty and authority of the Fascist state, his scope of duties and responsibilities has been expanded: he has a duty of obedience, discretion, hierarchical subordination, and the utmost performance of his office; under threat of disciplinary penalties of various kinds and degrees, up to and including dismissal, he is prohibited from belonging to associations without special permission.
Dismissal was provisionally regulated by Law No. 2300 of December 24th, 1925, and definitively by Decree No. 57 of February 26th, 1927; political unreliability is expressly listed among the grounds for dismissal, according to Royal Decree-Law No. 38 of January 13th, 1927 for faculty members of universities and colleges, and according to Royal Decree-Law No. 214 of January 30th, 1927 for officials of self-governing bodies; these provisions authorize the Royal Government to dismiss any civil servant who, through his conduct in office or outside of office, does not provide full assurance of the fulfillment of his duties or of his conformity with the general political guidelines of the government.

As a citizen of the nation, the Fascist official is thus subject to requirements that go beyond the function entrusted to him and beyond general discipline; all those belonging to the public administration are to not only regularly fulfill their specific official duties, but also perform every activity with inner conviction and sincere devotion to the state. This confers a special character upon the civil service: the role becomes a service that seeks to fulfill a higher, spiritual necessity with dignity and awareness.
It is a common occurrence in a regime of democratic freedom that the attitude of the official stands in contrast to the national consciousness - therein lies the sad and dangerous possibility that the public official, who is supposed to protect the public interest, will, in a conflict between the public interest and his own opposing conviction, give preference to the latter; under such circumstances, a public employment contract is no longer possible, and even a sanction is ineffective because it cannot resolve the incompatibility between the state and its organ; therefore, dismissal from office is appropriate in such cases.[88]

**The Exercise of Powers and Civil Service Discipline in Germany**

The appointment of officials and civil servants in order to bring about political unity was carried out in Germany with great speed and efficiency, despite the considerable difficulties arising from the structure of the Reich and the need to preserve the autonomy of the individual governments within the unified state; of paramount importance are the new Reich Governors, who were appointed in all states of the Reich with the exception of Prussia by the laws of April 7th and 25th, 1933 (the Second Law on the Alignment of the States with the Reich of April 7th, 1933, RGBI. I, p. 173, with the amendments of April 24th, 1933, RGBI. I, p. 225).
This Reich Governor-General Act places the relations between the Reich and the states on a new constitutional foundation; the main point is that the Reich Chancellor determines the political guidelines and that this policy is essentially a common one in the Reich and the states - the reconstruction of the German nation must find willing cooperation in the states, and attempts at state policies that run counter to general policy are completely unthinkable under the current German regime.[89]
Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to view the decisive recognition of the primacy of Reich policy as a threat to the proper autonomy of the states and therefore to regard the institution of the Reich Governors as unitarianism or anti-federalism - the Reich Governor Act is not unitarian in the sense of uniformity and centralism, as imperial authority and state authority remains separate but are neither disconnected nor identical; rather, this law liberates German federalism from the last remnants of the former sovereignty of the states - one can still speak today, as the law itself does, of the state authority of the individual states, but only as long as this corresponds to the general direction of the Reich.
It goes without saying that the Reich Governor Law has the character of a Basic Law; as such, it cannot and must not take into account the full range of practical contingencies, but sets forth only the fundamental principles of a new order; these are important because they embody the new spirit of the Reich Constitution and the new unitary policy, which must not be denied in any way.[90]

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[88] See Guido Bortolotto, "The State and Corporate Doctrine", Bologna 1931, Vol. I, pp. 359, 360.
[89] See Carl Schmitt, "Das Reichsstatthaltergesetz" (The Reich Governor Law), Berlin 1933, p. 11.
[90] Carl Schmitt, The Reich Governor Law, pp. 11, 12, 24. See also: Otto Koellreuter, "Die nationale Revolution und die Reichsreform" (The National Revolution and the Reich Reform), Berlin 1933, pp. 4 ff. Regarding unity and autonomy, see: H. Nicolai, “Foundation of the Future Constitution”, Berlin 1932, pp. 5 and 52.

Unity was achieved through the Law of January 30th, 1934[91], through the Reconstruction of the Reich; this law establishes the actual conditions under constitutional law and forms the basis for the continuation of the National Socialist revolution - as stated in the text of the law, since the referendum and the Reichstag election of November 12th, 1933 had demonstrated that the German people had coalesced into an internal unity, the Reichstag respectively passed the law after determining that the requirements for constitutional amendment legislation had been met.
The law stipulates that the state parliaments are dissolved and the sovereign rights of the states are transferred to the Reich; that the state governments are subordinate to the Reich government and the Reich governors are subject to the administrative supervision of the Reich Minister of the Interior; that the Reich government may enact new constitutional law, and that the Reich Minister of the Interior shall issue the statutory regulations necessary for the implementation of the law - thus, power is concentrated in the hands of the government, which has the ability to determine the new constitution.

Civil servants in Germany, too, must understand the spirit of the new policy and apply it in all cases - as in our country, the central authority there has also issued precise and strict regulations to ensure the competence, morality, and national reliability of civil servants; however, this important matter of national policy in Germany is still particularly linked to the racial question, which determines the program and policy of the National Socialist Party, including in matters of citizens' participation in government and their eligibility to hold public office.
Point Four of the party program states that only a citizen can be a member of the people, and he can only be a member of the people if he is of German blood, regardless of religious denomination; a Jew can therefore not be a citizen. In addition, Point Five adds that anyone who is not a citizen may live in Germany only as a guest and is subject to foreign legislation, and Point 6 states that the right to determine the leadership and laws of the state may be exercised only by citizens - therefore, every public office, regardless of its nature and whether at the Reich, state, or municipal level, shall be held only by citizens.
These program points of the National Socialist Party find their practical application in the numerous laws concerning employees of the state and public bodies: the Basic Law bears the date of April 7th, 1933, and is titled the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service[92]; this was followed on the same date by the Law on Admission to the Bar[93], on April 22nd, 1933, by the Law on Admission to the Patent Bar[94], and on May 6th, 1933, by the Law on the Admission of Tax Advisors; the decrees of April 11th, May 4th and May 6th, 1933, served to implement these laws.[95]
Current German civil service legislation has retained the previous general administrative principles, but have also profoundly altered them from a political perspective in order to adapt the structure of public authorities to the spirit and requirements of the new state.
The law serves a dual purpose: the restoration of the professional civil service (as the name implies) and the simplification of administration; in the latter regard, it stipulates that the government may, at its own discretion, dismiss even those civil servants who are not expressly covered by the law; expressly named are civil servants who belong to an opposing party or act in its interest, civil servants of non-Aryan origin, and those who are not reliable from a political and national standpoint.

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[91] RGBI. I, p. 75.
[92] RGBI. I, p. 175. See also the "Law on the Right of Termination for Persons Affected by the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service" of April 7th, 1933, RGBI. I, p. 187.
[93] RGBI. I, p. 188.
[94] RGBI. I, p. 217.
[95] RGBI. I, pp. 195, 233, 245.

This treatise aims, as far as objectively possible, to outline the analogies and differences between the national movements of Italy and Germany in terms of ideology and legislation; since it is not our intention, above all, to pass judgment on the domestic policies of the two states—whose motives may elude the perception and evaluation of a foreigner—we shall confine ourselves to quotations from the fundamental laws.

**Public Health and Youth Organizations in Italy**

The sovereign and totalitarian state that emerged from the revolution must also count among its tasks the preservation and improvement of its people's livelihoods, the orderly conduct of civic life, and the normal development of productive activity - everything undertaken in this regard by Fascism over the past ten years and by the National Socialist state during its brief existence can be summarized under the following three basic tendencies:

a) Protection of the race and public health
b) Protection of public order in both society and the state
c) Protection of productive activity and the economic and financial resources necessary for national rebirth

The protection of the race and public health is understood by both Fascism and National Socialism to mean that, from both physical and spiritual perspectives, a physically healthy nation must be created—one that is conscious of its duties toward life, the family, and the nation.

Fascism carries out these tasks through the activities of the National Organization for the Protection of Mother and Child, which was hailed as a quintessential creation of the regime, and further through physical and mental education in youth organizations, which care for young people from early childhood through to maturity.
The "National Organization for the Protection of Mother and Child" was established by Law No. 2277 of December 10th, 1925, with amendments and adjustments made by Law No. 298 of April 13th, 1933; the functions of the National Organization encompass, in their entirety, tasks that fall under the jurisdiction of various ministries or the National Fascist Party, and taken as a whole, these represent the full realization of the regime's demographic policy, which operates on the principle that numbers, in both quantity and quality, constitutes power.
The National Organization, in conjunction with the other major organizations created by Fascism for this purpose, serves the physical and moral preservation of the national substance; it is essentially dynamic, for it stimulates and fosters population growth in its vital racial elements.
The scope of the National Organization includes maternity protection (shelter for pregnant women, support for mothers of legitimate and illegitimate children, dining halls for mothers and children), child protection (homes and support), lecture tours on child care, preventive measures against tuberculosis, aid for destitute, abandoned, and wayward minors (through placement in families and homes), aid and patronage for juvenile offenders, and a host of other provisions for physical and mental protection; no distinction is made between legitimate and illegitimate offspring, since abandonment and needs constitute

the essential criterion for requesting social assistance, and this also corresponds most closely to the fascist conception of child protection, which aims to raise a generation that is healthy in body and mind.

The youth organizations, which are a characteristic and original achievement of Fascism, also serve the aforementioned purpose - they include: the Opera Billa, the Youth Fasci, and the fascist university groups.
The “Balilla Organization” was founded in 1926 and already has over three million members; it was able to reach this number only by winning the trust of families and the affection not only of fascists, but of the entire Italian people, for it placed convincing and obviously positive results at the forefront of its strict organization and discipline.
This organization is comprised of the Balilla, i.e., boys aged 8–14; the Avanguardisti, i.e., youths aged 14–18; the Piccole Italiane, i.e., girls aged 8–14; and the Giovani Italiane, i.e., girls aged 14–18; membership is voluntary, and members must have their parents’ consent.
The education of the Balilla pursues two complementary goals: intellectual-religious education and physical, athletic, and pre-military education; this education is intended to shape the minds and consciousness of tomorrow’s Italians, and it proceeds alongside schooling and religious education provided by the Catholic Church.
Cultural education takes place through lessons and lectures on historical, political, scientific, and literary topics, while artistic, musical, and dramatic education is provided through music courses, choral singing, concerts, listening to radio broadcasts, film screenings, and theatrical performances; in addition, vocational training is provided through courses in drawing, modeling, telegraphy, radiotelegraphy, crafts, mechanics, and agriculture.
Physical, athletic, and pre-military education follows a comprehensive program aimed at fundamental reform: young people learn discipline and civic decorum while simultaneously receiving pre-military training; athletic competitions keep the body and mind active, and educational excursions complement historical, political, and national education; of particular importance are the courses for young skiers, sailors, and aviators - the most fruitful effect of the Balilla, however, is the youth’s constant willingness to help, regardless of class or rank, and the unified spirit of national solidarity.
As of March 31st, 1931, the entire Balilla organization had 2,688,687 members; as of October 28th, 1933, it had 3,454,069 members - thus, the increase has amounted to 765,382.
In detail, the figures were as follows: for the Balilla: 1,236,635 and 1,562,651; Avanguardisti: 307,452 and 443,278; Piccole Italiane: 1,039,044 and 1,322,228, and the Giovani Italiane: 105,556 and 125,912.

The youth Fasci comprise young men aged 18–21 in groups and sections; they also exist in smaller towns.
The young Fascist is the truest image of the nation: he wants and must prove himself worthy of what the preceding generation achieved in war and revolution; he prepares to continue their work and subjects himself to strict intellectual discipline; he strengthens his body and mind, perfects his moral, social, and political education, and thus serves the cause of the nation with passion and devotion - membership figures were, in 1931: 189,899; 1932: 324,312; 1933: 612,500.

The Fascist university groups represent the elite of academia and culture, and will, in the future, be the ruling classes of society and the state; they are an important factor in the regime, which seeks to anchor itself deeply in cultural life, and especially in the relations between professors and students.

Members of the university groups may include students enrolled at a university or other institutions of higher education, as well as graduates up to three years after obtaining their degree, but not beyond the age of twenty-six.
There is a group in every provincial capital and a cell in every city with more than twenty-five students; the groups have a women's section, and in a university town they should also have a section for foreign students where appropriate.
The organization of the university youth has instilled in the students a deep sense of discipline and solidarity. Eighty percent of the students are members, along with half of the approximately 2,000 foreigners studying in Italy - in figures, the numbers were: 1931: 24,715; 1932: 47,500; and in 1933, already 50,000 members.[96]

**Race Protection and Youth Organizations in Germany**

The protection of the race and public health is a key pillar of National Socialism and Hitler's government[97] - to fill the demographic gaps caused by the war and urban industry, to protect the family, to achieve social, economic, and moral regeneration, and to create an intellectual climate that is both a consequence and a prerequisite of national renewal also requires urgent measures on the part of the state in Germany.[98]

Point 21 of the program states:

> *"The state must ensure the improvement of public health by protecting mothers and children, by prohibiting child labor, by promoting physical fitness through the legal establishment of compulsory gymnastics and sports, and by providing the greatest possible support to all associations engaged in physical education for young people."*

Already in the first months after seizing power, the Reich government established a Central Committee for Population and Racial Welfare, comprising eminent figures in the fields of hygiene, medicine, demography, economics, and sociology; it is well known that the demographic decline of a population of sixty-five million cannot be effectively combated with partial or isolated measures, but requires general remedial measures that must take into account elements of various kinds.
The regime's primary concern was the moral decay in the major cities, which was combated through decisive action against all immorality and against any attack on the dignity and integrity of the race; a service for mothers and children was also established, and to increase the birth rate, bonuses and benefits have been offered to support legitimate unions.

It is clear that the views of Fascism and National Socialism regarding the protection of public health and the physical education of youth are the same; likewise, both sides strive to organize youth under the sole banner of the nation and under the leadership and discipline of the state, which is the supreme organizer of the life and destiny of the younger generation.

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[96] See: Guido Bortolotto, "Massen und Führer in dem faschistischen Staate" (Masses and Leaders in the Fascist State), Hamburg 1934, Part III.
[97] See: Asvero Gravelli, "Hitler, Mussolini, and Revisionism", p. 45ff.
[98] Franco Ciarlantini, "Hitler e il Fascismo" (Hitler and Fascism), pp. 33, 34.

However, as we have already emphasized, racial preservation in the National Socialist program has not only a demographic and eugenic function, but is also an expression of that pride and sense of superiority associated with the myth of blood - Adolf Hitler affirms that for the Germans, the struggle is waged not only for the preservation and improvement of the race and the education of the youth, but also for the purity of the blood and the fulfillment of the mission assigned to the German people in the world.[99]
German youth, which had expressed its characteristic romantic ideal in the Wandervogel but had split into various parties in the postwar period, has now been united on a national basis in the Hitler Youth.
The organization of youth in Germany bears a strong resemblance to the Italian one - the Hitler Youth corresponds to the Italian Avanguardisti; the German Jungvolk to the Italian Balilla; the League of German Girls corresponds to the Giovani Italiane, and the Young Girls to the Piccole Italiane.
The Hitler Youth, like the "Werk Balilla," has a single goal and is inspired by a single spirit; it seeks to foster camaraderie, build the solidarity of the masses and the character of the boys, and provide a national education to the new generations.
In both German and Italian youth organizations, young people of the same age and category hold leadership positions - in this way, the best are selected—those whose abilities serve the organization's goals—and thus an elite emerges from the younger generation, representing the ruling class and the leadership of the coming era.

**The Protection of the State, Authority and Freedom**

Revolutionary laws are intended to defend the achievements of the revolution and the security of the state - it is not enough to restore state authority at the center and on the periphery, to organize the relationships between the nation's forces into a system of harmonious cooperation, and to establish legal norms governing civic life; in accordance with the increased authority and power of the state, those who represent this authority and administer it in the public interest must also be afforded greater protection; beyond the provisions intended to control or prevent crime in general, the security of the state and its institutions must be specifically guaranteed.

In Italy, this is achieved primarily through laws on citizenship, bureaucracy, and secret societies - in light of the subversive activities against the political regime—which are waged in all spheres by forces with an interest in keeping the people in rebellion and opposition to the regime—the state must ensure its security through sanctions that surpass all others in severity.
Law No. 2088 of December 25th, 1926, based on Royal Decree No. 2062 of December 12th, 1926, imposes the most severe penalties, including the death penalty, on crimes directed specifically against the state; these provisions for the protection of the state serve to reaffirm its sovereign authority, but also guarantee that it can freely and securely exercise its functions, which are beneficial and necessary to the life of the nation; the severity of these legal norms is matched by the expedited procedure established by Royal Decree No. 380 of March 1st, 1928.
Similar measures for the protection of the state are provided for in German revolutionary legislation - these include the Decree of the Reich President of February 28th, 1933, on crimes of treason and high treason[100], the Law on the Prevention of Political Violence of April 4th, 1933, and the Decree of the Reich President on the Prevention of Insidious Attacks Against the Government of the National Uprising of

[99] "Mein Kampf", p. 234.
[100] RGBI. I, p. 85.

March 21st, 1933[101]; for the trial procedure, the Reich Government Decree on the Establishment of Special Courts of March 21st, 1933[102], together with the Decree on the Acceleration of Trials for Crimes of Treason.[103]

The protection of the state is complemented by all measures concerning the discipline of social life and public order and security; if Mussolini contrasted the new slogan—Authority, Order, Justice—with that of the French Revolution, then the entire domestic policy of the state must conform to these principles, which guarantee the system of an orderly civil life - as Mussolini wrote:

*"Never before have the peoples had such a desire for authority, for leadership, for order."*[104]

The principle of the authority, supremacy, and sovereignty of the state must be restored; authority is authority only insofar as it is directed toward the welfare and freedom of individuals and associations, and freedom is freedom only insofar as it contributes to making the freedom of the state more harmonious and complete; it therefore goes without saying that the system of customary and abused democratic freedoms had to be subjected to revision by the revolutionary legislation of Fascism and National Socialism.

As regards public order and security in current Italian legislation, it should be recalled—in addition to all measures against persons or associations that have demonstrably caused harm or danger to the life of the nation—that the Fascist government carried out legal reform[105], in particular through the new codes of criminal law and criminal procedure, which entered into force on June 1st, 1931; at the same time, Royal Decree No. 773 of June 18th, 1931, approved the authentic text of the Public Security Act, which regulates the relevant provisions in accordance with the spirit of the Fascist order; of particular interest are the provisions concerning police measures and their implementation, public order and security, public services, and the associations, bodies, and institutions authorized within the Kingdom.
In Germany, the Hitler government has issued numerous police regulations related to the Reich President's Decree for the Protection of the German People of February 4th, 1933[106], with supplementary provisions by the Reich Minister of the Interior of February 4th, 1933, and the Decree of February 28th, 1933[107] - under these provisions, political gatherings, public assemblies, and outdoor processions must be reported to the local political authorities forty-eight hours prior to commencement, with precise details of the location, time, and purpose; if they appear to endanger public order and security, the gatherings and processions may be prohibited or permitted only under certain conditions, and in cases of refusal to comply, incitement to violence, or contempt for state institutions, they may be dispersed; the Reich Minister of the Interior also may prohibit outdoor gatherings, processions, and the wearing of political uniforms throughout the entire Reich territory or parts thereof.

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[101] RGBI. I, p. 162.
[102] RGBI. I, p. 135.
[103] RGBI. I, p. 131.
[104] Mussolini, B., "Die politische und soziale Doktrin des Faschismus", (The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism), II, No. 13.
[105] See A. E. Günther, "Liberale und autoritäre Strafrechtsreform" (Liberal and Authoritarian Criminal Law Reform) in: What We Expect from National Socialism, Heilbronn 1932, p. 101.
[106] RGBI. I, p. 35.
[107] RGBI. I, pp. 41, 83.

These regulations have recently been supplemented by various important provisions which, in accordance with the German government's program, introduce strict discipline for the relentless struggle against all tendencies hostile to the national movement and unity; they primarily concern the organization of the police throughout the state - the functions, duties, and local distribution of public security offices and officials are established by the law of April 26th, 1933, and ministerial directives of the same date[108]; also important are the provisions of April 26th and May 15th, 1933[109], which supplement the regulations governing the jurisdiction of individual police departments and, above all, the regulations for the Security Police, as contained, for example, in the Act of May 26th, 1933, on the confiscation of property belonging to communists[110]; furthermore, the Act of May 29th, 1933, with the implementing regulation of the same date, and the Act of May 31st, 1933[111] concerning the immigration police, passports, and travel abroad; and finally, the Regulation on the Regulation and Declaration of Residence of April 22nd, 1933.[112]

**Public Order and the Press**

Of great importance to public order and security is the monitoring of the press, especially the political press, which is expected to operate in close accordance with government directives.

Under a fascist regime, the freedom of the press that is promoted by democratic ideology—which, through its unrestrained nature and exaggerations, ultimately became a threat to the authority and strength of the state—is inconceivable; it is thus understandable that the guardians of all these freedoms raised a clamor against Fascism, alleging arbitrary restrictions on the freedom to inform and influence public opinion - while it is true that the examination of events and criticism of the government are the prerogative of the press, it can by no means be conceded that, under the pretext of seeking to assert certain interests—which usually do not go beyond personal, class, caste, or party advantage—it should compromise the powers and even the security of the state through its attacks.
When Hitler summoned representatives of the press after his seizure of power, he declared that neither he nor the government intended to infringe upon freedom of the press in the slightest - but, he added, freedom must not mean arbitrariness or licentiousness; honest, objective, constructive criticism is good and useful, but the rejection of everything that takes place under a national banner, dictated by democratic or humanitarian prejudice, cannot be tolerated; rather, it must be suppressed with the greatest energy.
Mussolini had expressed similar ideas and intentions at a plenary session to representatives of the Italian press regarding their duties, their dignity, and their privileges - he said:

*"The Italian press is the freest in the world - elsewhere, newspapers are owned by plutocratic groups, parties, or individuals ... Italian journalism is free because it serves only one cause and one regime; it is free because, within the framework of the regime's laws, it may and must monitor, criticize, and denounce...*
*I wish to confirm here that all issues—except for specifically political ones and other fundamental questions of the revolution—may be freely criticized...*

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[108] GS. p. 122, MBL. i. V. I, p. 503.
[109] GS. pp. 126, 191.
[110] RGBI. I, p. 293.
[111] RGBI. I, pp. 311, 312, 321.
[112] GS. p. 129.

*Your task is becoming increasingly important both nationally and internationally... therefore, the press must be vigilant, prepared, and modern in its presentation; its members must know how to engage in polemics with opponents across the border and, above all, be guided not by material, but by idealistic considerations."*[113]

The German government's press regulations are very strict - the National Socialist program itself demands in Point 23 the legal fight against deliberate political lies and against their dissemination by the press, and furthermore, that all editors and staff of newspapers published in the German language must be members of the German people; that non-German newspapers may only be published with the express permission of the state (they may not be printed in the German language); that any financial participation in German newspapers or their influence by non-Germans is prohibited by law, and further, as a penalty for violations, the closure of such a newspaper enterprise, as well as the immediate expulsion of the non-Germans involved from the Reich; finally, it calls for the banning of newspapers that violate the common good.
These points of the party's program were later put into practice - the aforementioned decree of the Reich President of February 4th, 1933, permitted the banning of periodical publications for the same reasons that assemblies may be prohibited and dissolved, as well as in cases of calls for a general strike or industrial strikes, the publication of obviously false news, and actions directed against the vital interests of the state; for the same reasons, periodicals printed abroad may, at the direction of the Reich Minister of the Interior, be barred from distribution in Germany for a period of six months.
Public political petition drives and public incitement to violence are punishable by imprisonment for at least three months; imprisonment for up to one year shall be imposed on those who are aware of the existence of prohibited publications and fail to report them; furthermore, in cases where public safety is at risk, the political authorities may order the closure of premises where prohibited publications are printed or stored.

**The Total State**

One of the first and defining objectives of the National Socialist Party was the establishment of a totalitarian state: as in Italy, political parties were abolished in Germany as well, and the Communist Party was crushed in the initial onslaught; later, the German government issued a radical decree to protect public order and the state, thereby rendering the Social Democratic Party ineffective as well, as events had shown that it was guilty of treasonous activities against the nation and against the legitimate government, and therefore it had to be treated in the same manner as the Communist Party.
The measures, which originally applied only to the latter, were extended to the Social Democrats in the decree for the protection of the people and the state; in particular, they were prohibited from holding seats in the parliaments, and the seats were taken away from their previous Social Democratic holders.
Likewise, propaganda was banned, so that no newspapers or magazines of the party were allowed to be published anymore; party members were also barred from holding public office.
The restrictions are not limited to these provisions - enemies of the new state who have fled abroad and are conducting propaganda against it there lose their German citizenship, just as in Italy the Law of January 31st, 1926, No. 108, provisioned for the loss of citizenship by refugees and traitors; their assets

[113] Speech to representatives of the press on October 10th, 1928.

are subject to sequestration, and in more serious cases, to confiscations - thus, in Germany, the parliament that emerged from the elections of March 5th found itself overtaken by events.

A few months earlier, Hitler had believed that in the event of new general elections, National Socialism would receive the totality of the votes, and in fact, this totality was achieved in the plebiscite of November 12th, 1933; both the foreign policy of the National regime and the list of deputies it had drawn up were approved in the vote.
Of 44,830,000 eligible voters, 43,451,000—or 97%—participated in the election - of these, 40,605,000—or 93%—voted in favor of the National Socialist government, while 2,105,000 voted against it, and 741,000 cast invalid ballots.
The situation was no different in Italy on March 24th, 1929, when the Fascist government consulted the people on its political leadership and presented them with the list of candidates drawn up by the Grand Council of Fascism; then, too, the election results showed overwhelming support for the government.
The figures correspond proportionally to those of the most recent German election, and both show that in Germany, as in Italy, the national government and its policies enjoy the full and passionate support of the population.
On March 24th, 1929, 9,651,962 people were eligible to vote in Italy: 8,652,864 participated in the election, or 89.63%, and of these votes, 8,508,606, or 98.33%, were for the national government, 136,270 were against, and 7,988 votes were invalid. This situation was confirmed by the plebiscite of March 25th, 1934: there were 10,526,504 eligible voters; 10,061,978 participated in the election, or 96.25%, and of these, 10,045,477 voted yes, or 99.84%,15,201 voted no, and 1,300 votes were invalid - thus, the Fascist Party in Italy and the National Socialist Party in Germany won over the people and seized control of the state.

One of the most characteristic stages on the path to the totalitarian state in Germany was the dissolution of the German National Party and the resignation of its leaders from the government - this event demonstrated, apart from its significance for day-to-day politics, the obsolescence of intellectual systems and attitudes that can no longer be reconciled with the requirements of a strong, unitary policy on a national basis today.
Life in the nation-state is subject to the constraints of two norms: first, it is necessary to place the common interest above the interest of the party or the class, and to demonstrate devotion to the common cause not only with words, but with deeds, indeed, with sacrifices; second, it is necessary to unlearn the systems and methods of parliamentary struggle and conformity, of oppositions and coalitions, for, as experience teaches, all of this stands in contrast to the spirit of national aspirations - the German National Party had fallen into this error; therefore, it had to disappear if it truly wished to prove that the welfare of the entire country was more important to it than the party.
Hitler has said that the future of the German people depends on the success of subordinating the manifold aspirations of individual wills to a single unified will; the National Socialist movement had to dissolve numerous organizations, regardless of their merits, solely with the aim of finally giving the German people a unified form in accordance with its political will - thus, the totalitarian state, in its strictest form, can be considered to have been achieved in Germany.
The parties that were not dissolved by the central government have decided to dissolve themselves voluntarily - such was the case with the German People’s Party, founded about ten years ago by Stresemann, which had never risen above the status of a minor party; the Young German Order, which

was regarded as a revolutionary right-wing party but had unfortunately established ties outside the country, and finally, the Bavarian People's Party and the Catholic Center, which carried out its dissolution in agreement with the Reich Chancellor, while the Catholic workers' organizations were incorporated into the Labor Front.

The National Socialist Party is thus in the process of conquering the state in its entirety by uniting the entire people into a single party, just as in Italy, and by rendering all other parties—especially those acting contrary to the interests of the nation—politically ineffective.
German Propaganda Minister Goebbels recently stated that a people in a difficult period cannot afford the luxury of internal party strife; the merger and identification of the party with the state was completed in Germany by the law of July 14th, 1933, which prohibits the continued existence and the formation of any party other than the National Socialist Party, and by the law of December 1st, 1933, which grants the NSDAP the legal status of a public corporation.

**The Protection of Labor and Productivity**

Now that public order has been restored and the nation's intellectual and political unity reestablished, revolutionary legislation faces the crucial task of safeguarding the nation's productive activities and its economic and financial resources, in light of the effects of the economic crisis and the need for reconstruction following the devastation of the war and its aftermath - above all, however, the new state must work to restore the people's confidence in the government's leaders and policies.
The crisis of our times could certainly be described as a crisis of confidence; the people are so overcome by a sense of hopeless weariness that they were unable to mobilize even under the impetus of a revolution, and this lack of confidence is one of the most serious characteristics of the situation - the masses have lost faith in both their leaders and their doctrines.
The general crisis is a crisis of individualism, which today must absolutely be overcome through a spirit of understanding and constant cooperation; it is a crisis of egoism, for the masses and their leaders must demonstrate their capacity for intense devotion to higher necessities; it is a crisis of capitalism, which has had its day, and finally, it is a crisis of the demo-liberal regime, which never knew how to fulfill the tasks of proper leadership of social organizations to the satisfaction of collective and national interests.
The doctrines and governments of the past never understood the relationships between the people and the economy, between the functions of the economy and those of law and politics - to them we owe the separation, indeed the opposition, of economy and state.
Society stood outside the state; it became the realm of so-called freedom against the state, while the state was the realm of so-called authority against the individual - thus, in these demo-liberal orders, the world of producers was separated from the world of citizens: the state was the state of all and had its sovereignty in the people; society was the state of the propertied classes and had its sovereignty in the capitalists; the state limited the economic sovereignty of the capitalist class, which in turn limited popular sovereignty.

In the total fascist-corporate regime, the state realizes its full unity through its fusion with the social aggregate and through the abolition of both the dangerous dualism and the dominance of the capitalist class - all energies are placed at the service of the nation and its interests[114]:

[114] See: Guido Bortolotto, "Faschismus und Nation" (Fascism and the Nation), Hamburg 1932, pp. 81ff. Ibid., Masses and Leaders in Fascist Doctrine, Part III.

*"The people do not live for the economy, and the economy does not exist for capital; rather, capital serves the economy and the economy serves the people.*
*Fundamentally, the government will not pursue the economic interests of the people through the detour of a state-organized economic bureaucracy, but rather through the strongest promotion of private initiative while recognizing private property."*[115]

The words and program of the National Socialist leader are in accord with the Italian Carta del Lavoro, which sees the fundamental idea of corporative doctrine and order in the organization and discipline of the productive forces and in their intimate connection with the fate of production; the fundamental principle that the common good takes precedence over the realization of selfish self-interest governs the economic program of both corporatism and National Socialism.
However, the protection of labor and productivity necessarily entails the protection of productive elements against all exploitation and the prohibition of unjust profit; this maxim of Italy's corporative order is also confirmed in the program of the German National Socialist Party, which opposes all unjust enrichment and income obtained without work or effort; it calls for an uncompromising struggle against those who, through their activities, harm the common interest, and goes so far as to threaten the death penalty for all—regardless of religion or race—who, through the grave crimes of usury and profiteering, impair the lives of the working people, who are less blessed with material goods.[116]

The individualistic capitalist state conducts its economic policy from a purely selfish perspective; therefore, it neglects the interests of the working class and directs its activities almost exclusively toward financial speculation and the return on capital invested in industrial enterprises and banks - thus, it is the greatest obstacle to a healthy and strong national economy.
In response to this, the National Socialist program adopted the principle of "the common good takes precedence over self-interest" and emphasized in particular the necessity of breaking the bondage of interest, which was and is regarded as a central problem by the National Socialist Party.[117]
The National Socialist economy, like the corporative economy, is as anti-Marxist as it is anti-capitalist; it is anti-Marxist because the party represents and defends only the proletarian class, and it is anti-capitalist because big financial capital in Germany had recently secured immense advantages for a privileged stratum of society.
This problem is closely linked to the racial question, for the central principles guiding the Jews in the exercise of their economic and financial dominance are all diametrically opposed to the national idea: one of the gravest evils of Semitic and international high finance is banking speculation and interest bondage, against which the National Socialist regime is taking strong action; the slaves of this international finance are the farmers as well as the workers, the small industrialists and artisans—indeed, all citizens. Some must submit to the burden of mortgages, while others work for meager salaries or wages, often even lacking the bare necessities - liberation from this bondage is a necessary prerequisite for the economic and political reconstruction of a country and for tackling a solution to the social question.[118]

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[115] Adolf Hitler, "Programmerklärung für die Reichsregierung" (Program Statement for the Reich Government) of March 21st, 1933.
[116] Gottfried Feder, "The Program of the NSDAP", Munich 1931, p. 23
[117] Adolf Hitler, "Mein Kampf", pp. 118, 119, 232, 233.
[118] Gottfried Feder, "The Program of the NSDAP", p. 32.

Among the German laws of recent years aimed at protecting, restoring, and improving the economic livelihood of the people, the following are worth mentioning: the Ordinance of March 18th, 1933, and the Act of May 4th, 1933, containing provisions regarding financial, economic, and legal protection (RGBI. I, p. 104); the Ordinance of April 10th, 1933, on taxes and fees (RGBI I, p. 193); the Act of April 6th, 1933, on credit, savings banks, and credit institutions (RGBI I, p. 166), and finally the Decree of February 24th, 1933, containing provisions regarding state-subsidized enterprises (RGBI I, p. 89), etc.

**Reconstruction in Italy**

These are the principles on which the national government has based its reconstruction efforts: they can be characterized, in the words of the Carta del Lavoro, as the well-being of the individual and the development of national strength; this involves the creation of a work ethic that simultaneously achieves the best organization and protection of productive activity and, above all, the satisfaction of individual interests in harmony with the general interest - in short, the aim is to overcome the crisis, alleviate the pressure of unemployment, and steer social life toward a new order; this is possible only through the harmonization of economic activities by creating a unified national labor front, but above all through a unified and organic management of public or charitable works.

In the economic and reconstruction activities of the Italian regime, the new idea of corporatism has led to the complete unity of forces and to a solid solidarity of material and spiritual interests; no other system has achieved such a successful combination of all aspirations and energies and such discipline in the economic and social spheres.
The situation of the Italian worker has improved materially, not just because the professional organizations now represent his interests, but also socially and morally, because, without prejudice to necessary welfare, the system of creating work instead of welfare has been followed - thus, large-scale public works programs have emerged in Italy, and after ten years of rule, Italian Fascism can look back with satisfaction on the number of projects completed, as well as on the order and discipline with which they were completed.
To this end, a whole body of labor legislation has come into force in Italy: the Law of April 3rd, 1926, No. 563, and the Decree of July 1st, 1926, No. 1130, on the legal framework for collective labor agreements; the Carta del Lavoro of April 21st, 1927; the Law of March 20th, 1930, No. 206, on the National Council of Corporations; and the Law of February 5th, 1934, No. 163, on the Corporations.[119]

Reconstruction in Italy has awakened all the living and active forces of the nation; it has created an organic form and development with new intellectual and political energies as driving forces at the center and with a system of organized and ready-to-act energies at the periphery.
If one compares activity in the field of public works in the period before the war and Fascism and afterward, a great difference must be noted - in those bygone days, even projects undertaken with purely national objectives, such as the construction of railways, suffered during their execution under the influence of politics and the parliamentary electoral machine, so that the results of the work did not meet expectations; meanwhile, in its public works policy, the fascist regime primarily pursues the

[119] See: Guido Bortolotto, "Politica corporativa" (Corporate Policy**)**, Milan 1934, pp. 213ff. Ibid., “Fascism and the Nation”, Hamburg 1932, pp. 220 ff.

reorganization of government agencies, the productivity of expenditures, the gradual assessment of needs, economic efficiency, and the social rebirth of all parts of the country.
Once the period of initial uncertainty had passed, the Fascist government—since it was not dependent on parliament or elections—was able to free itself from any influence of individuals, groups, or local circumstances, and could be guided solely by the higher needs of the country - thus it arrived at that methodical and intensive policy of public works which, in just ten years, has already transformed the face of the country and which, for several years now, has enabled it to face even the economic crisis without improvisation, to provide bread for the unemployed, and to secure a better social organization for the nation.

The intensity of the Fascist policy of work and reconstruction has cost the state significant financial sacrifices - despite numerous other burdens, it spared no expense in implementing its program:
In the sixty years from 1862 to 1922, various governments spent approximately eleven billion on public works; from October 1922 to October 1932, however, the figure was 17 1/2 billion lire - of this amount, 15 billion lire was borne by the Ministry of Public Works, approximately 2 billion lire by the autonomous road construction company, and over 1½ billion lire by the special undersecretariat for land improvement.
The works undertaken are of a diverse nature: they include routine maintenance and expansion of the road network, forest irrigation and the construction of reservoirs, various types of waterworks, inland navigation, the utilization of hydropower for electricity, land reclamation, coastal works, government, school, and public buildings, water pipelines, hygienic and sanitary facilities, railways, and the reconstruction of earthquake- and war-damaged areas; in addition to land reclamation, a total of 755 km of protective structures and approximately 3,937 km of dikes (new construction and expansion of existing ones) were completed throughout the country at a cost of over 1 billion lire; 300 million lire were spent on inland waterway transport; the construction of hydroelectric power plants also received significant support, resulting in a tripling of the budget for electrical energy.
Land reclamation activity during the decade 1922–32 can be gauged by the following figures: work is currently underway on reclamation projects covering an area of 3 million hectares and in the broad valley basins of the Alps and the Apennines, with a geographical extent of 4 million hectares; a total of 7,324 km of drainage canals, 1,130 km of irrigation canals, 3,311 km of roads, 105 rural water pipelines, and 3,456 rural buildings were constructed, and in total, payments amounting to 1,495,120,203 lire were made over the ten-year period for land reclamation and mountain development projects.
Furthermore, we owe it to Fascism that the road problem was incorporated into government policy as part of national reconstruction - on July 1st, 1928, the autonomous road construction enterprise was founded, which organically nationalized the maintenance and systematic expansion of approximately 21,600 km of former national roads; by October 28th, 1932, the agency had assumed obligations totaling 3,357,031,706 lire and, during the same period, paid 1,798,174,859 lire, partly in cash and partly in installments; in the four years since the office was established, in addition to ongoing maintenance, 8,561 km of roads have been paved, while 1,093 km are still under construction.
Remarkable results have been achieved in railway construction - in the past, the development of the railway network in Italy lagged behind that of other European countries by about thirty years; while certainly Camillo Cavour[120] had understood its importance for the process of national unification, and even though past governments were not inactive in this regard, for various reasons the plan could not be

[120] A significant Italian politician and the first Prime Minister of a unified Italy; he was also responsible for an expansive railway program. - The Translator

carried out, and the progress of construction work never met the needs dictated by the country's new political reality - yet during the ten years of the Fascist regime, the existing railway network was improved and its capacity have increased through the regulation and doubling of tracks, the replacement and reinforcement of rolling stock, the electrification of many lines, the increase in block sections, the expansion and beautification of station facilities, the renewal of rolling stock, the introduction of light FD trains, and, not least, by restoring discipline and accountability among the staff; for railway construction alone, 2,464,071,000 lire were spent during this period, and in addition, there was a significant expansion of urban railways and streetcars by 1,543 km, while 647 km are still under construction.
Coastal works were undertaken during these ten years in eighty-two ports of the Kingdom, as well as beach regulation works in fifteen provinces.
The Fascist regime has also devoted great care to residential areas - cities were expanded, beautified, and made healthier; war and earthquake damage was repaired; many municipalities were provided with sanitary facilities and schools, and the standard of living of the population, as well as their physical and moral health, was raised; certainly, much remains to be done to meet the needs of the population, especially in the industrial centers, but much has already been accomplished or is currently underway - undoubtedly, in the short span of ten years, the regime has accomplished far more extensive and significant work in this area than in the preceding sixty years.
A particular achievement is the construction of water supply systems and other sanitary facilities - in total, over the past ten years—including work currently in progress—2,193 municipalities with a population of over ten million have been provided with new water supply systems, comprising 687 in Northern Italy, 526 in Central Italy, and 980 in Southern Italy, including the islands.

The national government undertook and continues to undertake this activity with a twofold aim: to improve the country's sanitary, structural, and social conditions and to provide employment for the unemployed; at the same time, Fascist legislation has initiated numerous social policy measures to address the most urgent needs of the classes hardest hit by the economic crisis.

**Economic Policy in Germany**

Economic policy and the organization of work in Germany today are geared toward the same priorities - as important regulations have been issued regarding trade and agricultural policy, as well as consumption and the cost of living, above all, however, the measures designed to combat unemployment are of particular significance.

The head of the Committee for the Protection of German Labor, Dr. Ley, in agreement with the National Socialist Party leadership and consequently with the government, has personally assumed leadership of the United Front of German Labor; the Federation of Christian Trade Unions, the Federation of German Employees, Workers, and Civil Servants, and other organizations have placed themselves under the leadership of the National Socialist Party and government, and thus the unification of all trade union federations of workers and employees has been achieved.
At the same time, preparations for the implementation of compulsory labor service are underway - at present, labor service is still voluntary, with only the student body having already completed a six-month period of compulsory service; the organization of the voluntary labor service should, in any case, enable a very rapid introduction of compulsory labor service.

Compulsory labor service corresponds above all to an ethical imperative - every young person, regardless of the profession for which they are destined, should at some point spend a period of time working directly alongside members of all other social classes and professions on a major undertaking undertaken in the service of the whole; in this way, the various professional and educational strata grow closer through mutual understanding, and in particular, those destined for intellectual or managerial roles come to better understand and appreciate manual labor; furthermore, the labor service aims to provide young people with a period of camaraderie, discipline, and physical training.
The labor service requirement will apply to young people aged 17 to 25, a large proportion of whom, due to the economic situation, have never been able to contribute to the country's economic process, or have done so only for a short time.
The Labor Service has been assigned two important tasks: securing a sufficient food supply for the German people and the resettlement of the German people within their own territory; it is thus directed toward both demographic and economic goals.
When weighing the ethical, social, and economic benefits of the Labor Service program, the fact that there is still a large area of uncultivated but entirely cultivable—or rather, more cultivable—land in Germany stands out above all else; through the deployment of the Labor Service, this vast, currently still barren land area would be made usable, and German agricultural production would be increased.
It would clearly be a mistake to expect the compulsory labor service to solve the problem of unemployment, or to view it exclusively as a means of combating it: the Labor Service is more than that; not only does it enable a better food supply, it enables the reclamation of a vast area, and provides the service of the younger generation to the people and the state.

A law to combat unemployment was enacted in Germany in June 1933, and its provisions are of a varied nature; they pertain to the organization of public works and the promotion of private employment, to voluntary donations, the stimulation of national labor, to women's manual and domestic work, and finally to the facilitation of marriages.
The law provides for loans for maintenance work on public buildings, for bridge construction and other works of general benefit commissioned by public institutions, for construction in suburbs and rural areas, for river regulation, and for works in the service of water, gas, and electricity supply; private owners are granted subsidies for the maintenance of buildings in urban and rural areas or for the alteration and maintenance of residential houses or habitable buildings; of particular importance for the labor market, especially for the machinery industry, are the provisions that exempt the use or replacement of industrial or agricultural machinery and tools—provided they are domestic products—from all tax burdens.
One of the characteristic provisions of the law concerns voluntary donations for national labor: those who have committed tax offenses may avoid criminal proceedings by paying a portion of the amount owed at designated tax offices or to a notary, who issues them a receipt as proof of the payment made as a donation; the funds collected in this manner are administered by the Central Office for Public Works and are intended to promote initiatives aimed at reducing unemployment.
Another common form of voluntary labor donation, independent of any tax offense on the part of the donor, is made informally in exchange for a simple receipt, which entitles the donor to an exemption from property tax for the donated amount.
Another provision of the law concerns the employment of women in domestic occupations - recently, many women have given up housework in favor of factory work; the law now provides for social and tax benefits for women returning to domestic work.

The provisions in favor of newlyweds who lack the necessary dowry for marriage serve the same purpose: they may receive a loan of up to 1,000 RM for the purchase of furniture and other household goods, and the loan is provided in the form of vouchers, not cash; it is interest-free and is repaid in small monthly installments, and finally, its granting is conditional upon the bride having been employed as a worker for at least six months prior to the wedding, but now committing not to take on such employment again as long as her husband has a monthly income of at least 125 RM - in this way, the government aims both to alleviate unemployment and to promote the resolution of the demographic problem in Germany; it expects to be able to finance 150,000 marriages in the first year through marriage loans, a large portion of which would otherwise not take place due to a lack of dowry funds.

In this way, the national state carries out its activities to shape society and regulate social existence according to norms and principles that differ from those of earlier times - while 19th-century society was founded on principles that stand in complete contrast to those of our order (in that society, the unified concept of life disintegrated and was dispersed among individuals and such group formations that bore a thoroughly and indelibly individualistic character), in our corporative doctrine, however, the problem of unity is linked to the innermost essence and life of the masses, as well as the ruling classes.
Dividing the people into parts, classes, and parties that are alien to one another, even hostile, contradicts the sense of natural inclination and the urge toward unity; that is why Fascism adopts the slogan of unity on a national basis and restores harmony to the state of tension and antithesis that existed—or rather was created—between the masses, the leader, and the state under the demo-liberal regime; it pushes for harmony and unity in the reconciliation of interests and in the alignment of the individual, the collectives, and the higher association, under the leadership of the legitimate, sovereign power of the state.

**The Law on the Organization of National Labor**

This is how the discipline of the productive forces operates in Germany and Italy - although the laws of the two countries differ from one another, they share the same overarching goals, as articulated in the Italian Carta del Lavoro as:

*"...the prosperity of the individual and the power of the nation..."*

and in the German law as:

*"...the common good of the people and the state."*

The new German Law on the Organization of National Labor of January 20th, 1934[121] stipulates:

a) within each individual enterprise, two elements are active: the head of the enterprise, as the representative of the company and management, and the Workers' Council, as the representative of the workforce.
b) within the framework of an industrial district, two elements are also active: an administrative body, the Trustee of Labor with an advisory board of experts, and a judicial body, the social court of honor.

[121] RGBl. 1934, I, p. 45.

An atmosphere of trusting cooperation and solidarity shall prevail between the manager and the Works Council of an enterprise; the manager of the enterprise makes decisions regarding the workforce in all operational matters, and he must ensure the welfare of the workforce; in turn, the workforce must show him loyalty based on the spirit of the workplace community.
The Works Council has the task of deliberating on all necessary measures for the implementation and improvement of work performance, working conditions, company regulations, and occupational safety, and shall generally serve to deepen mutual trust within the company community and to strengthen the bonds among all employees and between them and the company (Section 6 of the Act).

These institutions and this spirit show us the difference between the workers' councils of today's legislation and the works councils of the liberal and social democratic regimes - the activity is the same and could not be otherwise, but the soul, the spirit, and the goals are different, because they strive for genuine cooperation and solidarity and do not pursue party or class control, nor the defense of particular interests.

That is why the national government, as a first step toward balancing particular interests and subordinating them to the general interests of national production, eliminated wage struggles and placed the regulation of working conditions in the hands of special commissioners, the labor trustees; while the Law of May 19th, 1933 on Labor Trustees did indeed allow employers' and workers' associations to continue as collective bargaining parties, it stripped them of their bargaining authority.
The labor trustee was in charge of regulating working conditions, as lockouts and work stoppages to carry out labor disputes had become practically impossible; however, the conflict of interests between employers and workers had not yet been resolved, and a fundamentally new structure of the labor constitution had to be established[122] - this structure is based on the Law on the Organization of National Labor.
The labor trustees, who are Reich officials under the supervision of the Reich Minister of Labor and bound by the guidelines and directives of the Reich government (§ 8), correspond roughly to the corporate bodies of the Italian system; supported by expert advisory boards, they also perform similar functions (Par. 19, 23, 24).

In contrast, the social honor court system of the German order is quite different from the Italian labor court - while the Italian court system is responsible for regulating labor relations, the German honor court system must, at the request of the Labor Trustee, adjudicate violations of social honor and impose honor court penalties, such as warnings, reprimands, administrative fines, revocation of the qualification to be a manager of the enterprise, and removal from the current workplace.

**The Corporative Constitution in Italy**

The corporate system in Italy is based on three fundamental bodies: the professional association, the labor court, and the corporations.
The basic principles of the Italian system are as follows:

[122] Kalckbrenner, O., "Gesetz zur Ordnung der nationalen Arbeit" (Legislation on the Regulation of National Labor), Berlin 1934, p. 8.

**I.** Professional associations are integrated into the life of the state and, with their specific legal frameworks, form part of the general legal system - they are legally recognized by the state.
Their task is to represent their members and to safeguard their professional interests in harmony with the general interest of the nation; they encompass all the productive forces of the nation and, in accordance with the various interests, are organized for all categories of production as employers' unions on the one hand and workers' unions on the other; they ensure the legal equality of the factors of production and maintain discipline in production and productive activity; they conclude collective agreements for employers and employees that are binding on all members of the respective category and that give concrete expression to the solidarity among the various agents of production by balancing the opposing interests of employers and workers and subordinating them to the higher interests of production.[123]
It is the duty of labor associations to protect those they represent in the administrative and legal practices of accident insurance and social insurance.
Support for the members—whether registered or unregistered—is both the right and the duty of the professional associations; these associations must provide such support directly through their own bodies and may not delegate these duties to other bodies or institutions, except in the case of tasks of a general nature that transcend the interests of the individual category.
Education and training, particularly vocational training for their members—both registered and unregistered—is one of the primary duties of professional associations.[124]

**II.** The labor court is the body through which the state intervenes to resolve labor disputes, whether these relate to compliance with contracts and other existing regulations or to the establishment of new working conditions.
In collective labor disputes, legal proceedings may not be initiated unless the corporate body has first attempted conciliation; in individual disputes concerning the interpretation and application of collective labor agreements, professional associations have the option of offering their services for conciliation.
Jurisdiction over labor disputes is vested in the ordinary courts, with the appointment of assessors designated by the professional associations concerned.[125]

**III.** The professional organizations of employers and employees are linked to one another through a corporate body in order to regulate their various interests and the specific affairs of the relevant branch of industry by mutual agreement; areas of responsibility include matters of production methods, wages, work discipline, market sales, welfare, worker protection, etc.
The corporation is the fundamental institution of the national economy and the Fascist state, because by ensuring peace and harmony in the national economy, it also fulfills an important function in the legal and political spheres.
The corporations represent the unified organization of the productive forces and represent the entirety of their interests - by virtue of this comprehensive representation, and because the interests of production are national interests, the corporations are recognized by law as organs of the state.

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[123] Art. III, IV, VI, VIII of the "Carta del Lavoro"; see: Guido Bortolotto, "Masses and Leaders in Fascist Doctrine", Hamburg 1934, Part III.
[124] Art. XXIX, XXX of the "Carta del Lavoro".
[125] Art. V and X of the "Carta del Lavoro"; see: Guido Bortolotto: "Fascism and the Nation", Hamburg 1932, p. 242.

As representatives of the unified interests of production, the corporations may prescribe binding norms regarding the regulation of labor relations and likewise regarding the organization of production, in all cases where they possess the necessary powers delegated by the associations affiliated with them.[126]
The Law of February 5th, 1934, established the procedures for the formation of corporations in Italy. These generally have the following functions: organization and coordination of productive forces; regulation of collective labor; regulation of economic relations and standardization of production; advisory and conciliatory activities, and determination of tariffs and prices.
The corporation, which is an organ of the state, is formed by the very professional organizations to which the corporate norms and measures apply; these organizations not only have the right to propose and demand measures, but they also have the duty to support their development based on their experience and knowledge of the matter and to participate in them; the corporations must therefore control production in order to eliminate errors and deficiencies that could harm the general interest - the corporation can exercise these functions without hindering private initiative and without limiting the activity of the productive forces.[127]

**The Sovereign State and the Dictatorship**

This is how corporatism overcomes capitalism and Marxism - capitalism can no longer play a role in today's economic life, and Marxist ideology has failed not only in Italy and Germany, but everywhere in the world.[128]
Corporatism in Italy, like the estate-based system in Germany, is an economy that is disciplined and subject to state control; corporations and the estate system also form the tools for achieving wealth, political power, and the prosperity of the people - political power constitutes the nation's wealth and wealth strengthens political power, but, as Mussolini said, the corporation is of particular value for raising the prosperity of the Italian people:

*"It is absolutely necessary that the masses understand and feel that these bodies we are forming are the tools through which they improve their standard of living; the workers and the peasants must be able to say: if I can live better now, I owe it to the organs of the Fascist revolution...*
*We do not form our economic structures to give shape to our ideas, but to achieve positive, concrete, and effective results; our state is not an absolutist state that knows only strict, inflexible laws and lives far removed from the people, but is rather an organic, human state that seeks to adapt to and correspond with living reality."*[129]

Thus, the state intervenes in the economic sphere; thus, individuals and professional organizations form the corporative system; thus, the masses achieve national unity.

But a national economy must also be educational in its impact, with far-reaching social-political measures in favor of the working classes, especially those who feel the effects of the economic crisis most acutely.

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[126] Art. VI of the "Carta del Lavoro".
[127] See: Guido Bortolotto: "Corporate Policy", Milan 1934, p. 232ff.
[128] See: Weippert, G., "Umriß der neuen Volksordnung" (Outline of the New Social Order), Hamburg 1934, pp. 13 and 15.
[129] Mussolini, B., "Rede vor dem Nationalrat der Korporationen" (Speech Before the National Council of Corporations), Rome, November 14th, 1933.

The public authorities of the nation-states have directed their attention to all forms of social policy, whether conciliatory and regulatory, preventive, or welfare-oriented in the strict sense - Mussolini said:

*"We must reach out to the workers; we want to accustom the working classes to the capacity for leadership...*
*Through the establishment of the central corporate bodies, Fascism is the first regime to recognize the workers by calling upon them to participate in the regulation of production—not merely in the control of individual enterprises, as anarcho-syndicalism sought, but in the control of the entire national economy."*

These laws regulating labor and the productive forces are necessarily familiar to the younger generations; the older generation would neither understand nor be able to apply them.
The new order presupposes a fundamental moral transformation of man's attitude toward work and wealth: it demands that production be unitary, that property and capital become conscious of their social function, and that work be a social duty.[130]

Fascism and National Socialism, nationally united and nationally conscious, are nonetheless aware of the tasks of every nation in the international arena, especially when it comes to overcoming the current crisis through a new form of existence.
National unity and national consciousness mean spiritual solidarity and the cooperation of all forces for the good of the individual and for the development of the power of the nation and the state; this goal requires the abandonment of the methods of the parliamentary system, which has led solely to party strife, to the satisfaction of the individual and of particular interests, as well as to a weakening of state authority.
Adolf Hitler said that parliaments by no means expressed the will of the people; rather, they were simply consortia that acted according to the principle of majority rule, but assumed no real responsibility - in contrast, the personal regime was based on a unified and precisely defined responsibility; that is why both revolutions—the Fascist and the National Socialist—eliminated the parties in the name of the state and the classes in the name of the nation, thereby establishing the total, sovereign state, founded on the nation with its history, tradition, and culture.

Democratic doctrine views our movements with suspicion and fears the return of reaction and dictatorship; it regards Fascism as a temporary and accidental expedient (i.e., as a dictatorship) that enables the ailing state to overcome the current crisis, so that it may then resume its usual liberal rhythm of life - however, it is something entirely different, namely a new regime, a new system, and above all, a new education; the regime of discipline and national hierarchy must create a new political and economic order through a profound revolution.
The Fascist regime is not a dictatorship - as experience teaches, its effect on the masses yields results quite different from even the best dictatorship, viewed from the best of all possible perspectives.
It is said that a dictatorship fosters selfishness because it places obstacles in the way of all noble and altruistic aspirations of the spirit; as a result of this coercion, those impulses eventually die out, and the death of the public spirit causes the citizen to become wholly absorbed in the cult of personal interest - that is why, as they say, civic virtue weakens under dictatorship and eventually disappears entirely: the state becomes a syndicate of egoisms, and the dictatorship strives to protect them.[131]

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[130] See above, Part II, "Property and Capital, Private Initiative and Production"
[131] T. Cambo, "Les dictatures" (Dictatorships), Paris 1930, p. 140.

Now, under the so-called dictatorship of Fascism, exactly the opposite occurs - Fascism, averse to selfish individualism and military optimism, renews and cultivates civic virtue; it demonstrates its appreciation through its constant effort toward a comprehensive political and military education: full devotion to the state and the complete subordination of the particular to the general interest represent the essence and spirit of Fascism.
The same applies to the decline of personal virtues, such as boldness and courage, and to the emergence of personal weaknesses, such as servility and cowardice[132] - although Fascism demands obedience in its authoritarian regime, it by no means understands this to mean blind servility, and even less so a low spirit or intellectual poverty.
Fascism has taught us to value boldness and courage and has prohibited only those insidious forms of criticism and attack that were more a part of the parliamentary system than a free, personal expression of opinion regarding public life and the conduct of those in leadership; they were designed to set traps for governments, without regard for the fact that the latter, in the interest of social progress, are entitled to a free hand in carrying out their plans.
Fascism is not a dictatorship because, as a faithful interpreter of the great collective sentiment of the population, it has given rise to a profound ideal movement that enhances the country's prestige abroad and, at home, and it enables that active discipline which provides the government with great energy through the constant and lively cooperation of all citizens - for this reason, the authority and sovereignty of the state in our system, even though they are embodied in a single person, do not constitute a dictatorship; rather, they embody the true necessities of the moment, without which the future of the peoples cannot be shaped.

**National Entities and International Life**

The strength of a state and the depth of its national sentiment are not indications that, simply because a state is strong, it will act with the intent of attacking other states, or that, simply because a nation is proud of its history and traditions, it will adopt an attitude of hostility and contempt toward other nations.
It is typical and noteworthy that whenever national passion is expressed, internationalist ideologues, social democratic organizers, and liberal thinkers immediately sound the alarm, claiming that world peace is in danger - this is a ruse and a fallacy, since national movements, far from endangering it, work zealously for peace.
As Hitler has said: countries in which the national spirit is strong are inclined towards mutual respect, which facilitates international relations since, in the atmosphere of coexistence among these national entities, the solution to the most difficult problems becomes less difficult - the power of national movements is indeed directed toward harmonious, solidarity-based cooperation, not only among the various classes and strata of a people, but also among different peoples in their international relations.
Human beings are by nature inclined toward solidarity; just as individuals instinctively establish friendly or fraternal relationships, so too must peoples (here we are speaking of the masses, not of leaders who are often driven by political passion or party spirit)[133] follow the tendency toward community and the peaceful development of international relations.
In relations between peoples, the ideal is not expansion and oppression, but balance; this is the ultimate goal of society as well as of nature, and therefore, mutual relations between peoples can take hold without

[132] T. Cambo, "Dictatorships", pp. 143, 144.
[133] See Guido Bortolotto, "Masses and Leaders in Fascist Doctrine", Hamburg 1934.

their having to betray the spirit and inner disposition that culture and tradition have bestowed upon each of them.

National consciousness does not mean excessive nationalism; the sovereignty and authority of the state do not mean autocratic imperialism; the dignity of the nation does not mean a quest for hegemony - Mussolini often spoke of our imperialism[134], but he understood it as a spiritual and moral force, without any thought of hegemony or conquest.
In his Turin speech, he said:

*"We do not want hegemony in Europe, and we will oppose any such attempt, especially if it seeks to perpetuate a situation of manifest injustice."*

The allusion to the Treaty of Versailles could not be clearer[135] - this treaty, in fact, is not a peace treaty, but a treaty of hegemony, not only with regard to the vanquished but also with regard to some of the victors.[136] Treaties generally do not last forever, but this one, more than any other, requires revision on the basis of justice, fairness, and reason; resolving the crisis that is shaking the nations requires that the issues of debt, reparations, disarmament, and treaty revisions be addressed decisively with full commitment and understanding.
Italy has always pursued a straightforward policy on this point, and for a long time now the head of our government has expressed his ideas and thoughts on the matter, from which one could derive the slogan: an end to what he calls the tragic accounting of the war, and the welcoming of guiding principles that testify to a deep understanding of the necessities and dangers of the current state of the world, which our leader has woven into the Four-Power Pact.
The principle of justice, which must govern all treaties, imperatively demands that every distinction between victors and vanquished disappear, that every system of armed alliances and every claim to retribution or reconquest cease, and be replaced by just, sincere, and friendly agreements - above all, however, justice and the principle of international hierarchy require that small states occupy their rightful place in the international community and be able to exercise only the influence that corresponds to their importance; they must not forget that they are a more or less artificial product of the Treaty of Versailles, and that their creation and expansion represent solutions for which no justifiable reason can be given, and which even less fulfill a political will or national unity.

Fascism and National Socialism, sprung from the spiritual roots and the real life of their nations, are perhaps the only movements that have shown, better than others, the just and practical ways to overcome the crisis - Mussolini has demonstrated in deed, and not merely in words, that minds and people must disarm so that the intellect and capital currently squandered on armaments may be directed toward the weapons of labor and peace; Hitler, meanwhile, has emphasized the necessity of ending a period of errors through an agreement among all nations on an equal footing, and he has also clearly stated that Germany would be prepared to sign a non-aggression pact.

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[134] See above, Part I, "The New Democracy"
[135] See in this regard Hermann Stegemann, "Deutschland und Europa" (Germany and Europe), Berlin, pp. 398, 434 ff.
[136] See Asvero Gravelli, "Hitler, Mussolini, and Revisionism", pp. 29, 55, 65.

As the crisis grows more threatening, it is therefore not the democratic states but the nationalist movements that grasp the true necessities of life at this moment and strive for political, and subsequently military, economic, and social peace; this corresponds in spirit and letter to the Mussolini Pact, which is indeed inspired by the will for harmony, prosperity, and balance against political hegemonic ambitions and the interests of war profiteering.

Fascism works for peace, but is not pacifist; a doctrine such as ours, which regards life as a struggle and recognizes the great educational value of war, could not, like the demo-liberal one, take a pacifist orientation - as Mussolini puts it:

*"Fascism believes neither in the possibility nor in the usefulness of eternal peace; it therefore rejects pacifism, which entails a renunciation of struggle and a cowardly retreat from sacrifice - only war brings all human energies to their highest expression and ennobles the peoples who have the courage to face it. A doctrine that proceeds from the postulate of peace, which is based on a prejudice, is alien to Fascism, just as are all internationalist programs of fraternization, even if they are put forward solely for the sake of the utility they may have in certain political situations - as experience teaches, these programs can vanish into thin air when the storm of ideological or practical primal emotions sweeps over the hearts of the peoples."*[137]

This does not, however, as I said, imply any desire for war or aggression; national sentiment protects the prestige of every people and also respects that of others.

Today, perhaps for the first time, the truly history-creating cultural nations find themselves in a situation where their own self-interest must compel them to understand their interests within the framework of a fundamental, at least European, solidarity - if the European nations are able to look deep and far enough into history, they must realize that they have fundamental values to defend together if they hope to realize their ideals, if they wish to shape their traditions and their dreams ever more perfectly.[138]
In the current situation, the Italian and German nations pursue the same international aims: each pursues its own particular form of life and development, but both share the same conception of the internal structure of the state, and both pursue the same international program of preserving peace and the European balance of power; this cannot exist in Central Europe with a suppressed and disorganized Germany, nor in Southern Europe with an Italy whose function and progress are hindered.
The national movements derive their justification from spontaneous necessity - today, the foremost task is to rebuild what war and the postwar period have destroyed, namely a peaceful life, a healthy economy, and an active community of the various nations.

We conclude our remarks here, as we began them, with the words of the Duce:

*"Never before, as at this moment, have the peoples so demanded authority, guidelines, and order; if every century has its doctrine, then ours—as a thousand indications show—is Fascism.*

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[137] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part II, No. 3.
[138] Balbino Giuliano, "Nationalsozialismo e Fascismo" (National Socialism and Fascism), "Politica soziale", June–July 1933, p. 319.

*That it is a living doctrine is proven by the fact that it has awakened a faith; that this faith has conquered hearts is proven by the fact that it has had its fallen and its martyrs - Fascism possesses today in the world that universality which all doctrines possess that, at the moment of their realization, embody a historical moment of the human spirit."*[139]

When the Duce showed the Blackshirts the path for the second decade of Fascism, he gave them this motto:

*"March, build, and, if necessary, fight and win."*

The young generations and the peoples who carry within themselves the spirit of rebirth and progress must march and live; every person and every people must be granted the path for their journey, the bread for life, and the tools for their work; everyone must build, upon the ruins of the past, new works, new teachings, and a new discipline of life.
Fighting is necessary (when necessary, said the Duce), because life itself is a struggle and must be a conquest - but fighting must not mean attacking or striking, but rather enduring the free struggles of thought, spirit, culture, and learning; victory is necessary when one fights, not to subjugate or oppress the vanquished, but to usher in a new era of justice and the shared existence of peoples.
The efforts of the national revolution are directed toward overcoming the crisis and toward the salvation of Europe and the world, through an active peace, through work, through the dignity of nations, and through international cooperation.

[139] Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism", Part II, No. 13.